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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 184

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# CHINA REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LIMITS ON CIVIL FREEDOMS IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETIES DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Li Changdao (2621 2490 6670): "Talking About the Free Rights of Citizens in Bourgeois Countries"]

[Text] Securing free rights for citizens was one of the important objectives of bourgeois revolutions. In the struggle to oppose feudalism, it indicated a certain progressiveness. But we must also note that, whether we speak of the day they were produced or of when they were put into effect following the seizure of political power by the bourgeoisie, that which the bourgeoisie calls the freedoms of citizens has all been clearly limited by bourgeois law and class interests. The famous French thinker Voltaire once indicated: "Freedom is simply obeying the law." Montesquieu also indicated: "If one citizen does something which is prohibited by law, then he will not again be free, because others will also have this right." We can see that in bourgeois countries there exist no civil freedoms which are not subject to limitations. The supporting pillars of the free rights of citizens are the constitutions and the laws.

Bourgeois scholars are not in total agreement in categorizing the free rights of citizens. Some distinguish between basic rights which are passive and basic rights which are active. The former include freedom of the individual, of speech, of religion, of assembly, etc, which the state has the duty not to infringe upon and the duty to prevent infringement upon by others. The latter are also called rights to benefits, such as the right to an education, the right to relief from suffering, etc. Some divide them into freedoms concerning individual material benefits, that is the right to your person, to shelter, to work, and to have property; and the freedoms concerning individual spiritual benefits, that is freedom of worship, of opinion, of assembly, and of association. But regardless of how we categorize these civil rights, in necessary areas, the state places legal restrictions on these individual freedoms. We can see this quite clearly by doing a brief analysis of some of the legal limitations on some of the freedoms in bourgeois countries.

Freedom of the individual: This is the foundation of all freedoms. If a person doesn't have this freedom, then there is no possibility of exercising any other freedoms. According to the laws of capitalist countries, a person's liberty can only be interfered with under conditions where he has violated the law. But this interference must follow due legal process. This is simply to say that any person whose behavior has violated the law must be arrested, detained, questioned, and punished in accordance with the procedures established in law.



Still the freedom of the individual is not without limitation, total and boundless. Both the bourgeois constitutions and laws have concrete regulations in this regard. As early as 1789 the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" contained the following passage: "When we speak of freedom we mean the right to do anything which does not impair the affairs of others. This then is the right of each person to act naturally, but it is limited within the scope of guaranteeing that all other elements of society enjoy a similar right. Such limitation must be proscribed by law." The second article of the "Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany" which is presently in effect stipulates: "Every person has the right to develop his individuality, but must not infringe upon the rights of others or violate the constitutional system or moral law." These passages make clear that all citizen behavior is restricted by law, which on the one hand stipulates that citizens must adhere to the law when exercising their personal freedom, and on the other hand stipulates that state interference with such freedom must also adhere to the law.

**Publishing freedom:** The publishing business is a comparatively recent development in European culture. When the publishing business was just getting started, the various nations of the European continent all adopted inspection systems. Along with the rise and development of the bourgeois revolutions, many of the constitutions of capitalist countries were given new legal passages establishing the freedom to publish. But this too is not unlimited. Speaking in terms of the laws of the various countries, they generally set limitations in the three areas of publishing procedures, material content, and punishments for breaking the law.

The regulations governing publishing procedures can basically be divided into systems of prevention and systems of retribution. Under a system of prevention, not only can published material be subjected to legal sanctions after publication, it is also subject to interference by administrative authorities prior to publication. In law, this kind of interference can be manifested in four ways. The first is a system of inspection, that is the material must pass inspection and be approved by government inspection authorities before it can be published; The second is a system of special permission, that is that even though the material to be published is not inspected, special permission from administrative authorities is necessary to open a publishing concern; The third is a system of bonding, that is at the same time permission to open a publishing concern is gained, an advance bond of some amount must be put up; The fourth is a system of reporting, that is the publisher has the responsibility to report on his material prior to publication, but the administrative authorities have no right to deny publication. The aim here is to give administrative authorities advance notice that certain materials are going to be published. Under a system of retribution no material receives any interference by any authorities prior to publication, but, if the law is violated, then after publication punishment will be meted out in accordance with the law.

Limitations on the content of publications can be divided into limitations imposed to protect the interests of the entire society, and limitations imposed to protect the interests of the individual. Generally, in the former case, instigating criminal acts, corrupting morals, disturbing the peace, etc are held to be crimes. In some cases slandering the head of state, slandering religion, and so forth are also held to be crimes. In the latter case it is held that published material cannot do injury to a person's personal safety, reputation, credit worthiness, or confidential records. Those whose publications do so violate the law. Furthermore, there is upheld a right to respond. The publisher has the responsibility to print any rebuttal by those persons with whom the published material was concerned.

In regard to the handling of violations of the law, judicial authorities have the right to seize published material, stop publication of material, or close down the publisher altogether.

**Freedom of assembly:** This is the combination of freedom of the individual and freedom of speech. Many capitalist countries view this as a unique freedom, and usually establish unique laws and regulations. Beyond the limitations imposed in the standard criminal codes on the freedom of the individual and freedom of speech, they further establish a number of unique limitations. Some countries categorize assembly according to its nature as political assembly or non-political assembly; outdoor assembly or indoor assembly; worker assembly or non-worker assembly; public assembly or private assembly; election assembly or non-election assembly, etc. In regard to the former category of each pair, they usually adopt systems of prevention; for the latter they adopt systems of retribution. Furthermore, they rule that military personnel may not participate in any assembly without receiving permission from their superiors. The laws of many countries also stipulate that outdoor assembly, political assembly, and the other such assemblies "must be arranged with and held under the supervision of the police." In regard to rights of the police, some stipulate that if the police consider speech at an assembly area to be illegal, then they may break up the meeting; some stipulate that if violence breaks out at an assembly area, or if those who convened the gathering themselves petition for dispersal, then the police may break up the meeting, but in regard to speech at an assembly area that violates the law, they can only appeal to the courts after the fact and cannot use this excuse to break up the meeting; some stipulate that if the police consider it a possibility that a riot will occur, they can read the law concerning riots at the assembly area, after which the meeting must immediately break up, or else the police may forcibly break it up.

**Freedom of association:** The association in freedom of association and the assembly in freedom of assembly are different. Association is a kind of long-term grouping. Assembly is a kind of temporary coming together. Although there are differences between each capitalist country in regard to regulations governing the procedures of association, they all share one point in common, and that is that they view any association which takes criminal behavior which will violate the penal code regulations to be its purpose, such as associations for the purpose of assassination, robbery, etc., and associations in opposition to the national political or economic systems, to be illegal associations, and therefore move to break them up. Some can only be broken up after a court has reached this decision. Some can be broken up based solely on determinations made by the police themselves.

It can be seen from this that, for the purposes of its own governmental needs, the bourgeoisie imposes various legal limitations on constitutionally established civil freedoms. Just as Lenin said: "Whoever speaks of a general 'freedom,' whoever opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat on behalf of this freedom, is aiding the exploiters and is protecting the exploiters." Harming national security and the social order, and even going so far as to violate the constitution and the law, all in the name of "freedom," is something that no country allows.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ADHERENCE TO FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Feb 81 p 1

[Article: "Firmly and Unswervingly Carry Out the Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] Vast numbers of cadres have developed lively discussions when learning from the spirit of Central Committee documents on how to correctly understand and self-consciously follow the four basic principles. Adherence to the four basic principles means adherence to the socialist path, the people's democratic dictatorship (the proletarian dictatorship), the Communist Party leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These are major issues that concern the future and destiny of our party and state. They are the fundamental guiding principles that must be followed in upholding the policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and in implementing the major policies of taking further steps to readjust the economy and gain political stability. All levels of party organizations should continue to justly and forcefully carry out education in the four basic principles in order that each Communist Party member and cadre will establish a firm belief of adherence to these principles.

Marx said: "It is best to compare truth to a flint stone--the harder it is struck the more magnificent is its brilliance." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 69). The four basic principles do not only represent the repeatedly examined and proven truth of the Chinese people's prolonged revolution and practice in construction. They shine with greater brilliance after they were unprecedentedly trampled over by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and after they were firmly and unswervingly carried out during these few years. Today, after comparing the pros and cons, the people's understanding of the four basic principles cannot be described in the same breath as the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," but has greatly surpassed the level of the 17 years prior to it.

The masses profoundly understand from their own personal experience that the four basic principles centrally express their interests, will, and strength. This is because the socialist cause is itself the dynamic and creative undertaking of hundreds of millions of people. The people's democratic dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship is democracy of the largest number of people and dictatorship over the smallest number of enemies. The Communist Party leadership is one that represents the people's interests and carries out their will. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are theoretical summaries of the people's



revolutionary practice and experience as well as a science that firmly believes in the strength of the people. The people truly and wholeheartedly support the four basic principles precisely because the strength of these principles comes from the people and because the purpose of adhering to these principles is for the people. Once the people master the four basic principles, they will transform them into enormous material strength.

In their discussions some comrades asked: If the four basic principles were so important, why were they not mentioned in the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee? Some people even consider the Third Plenary Session to be a "relaxation" and the four principles a "restriction." Actually, if we earnestly study the documents of the Third Plenary Session, we will find that its adherence to the mentality of the four basic principles is very explicit. The Third Plenary Session decided to shift the focus of the party's work to the construction of modernization. In order that we realize socialist and not any other kind of modernization, is it not necessary that we follow the path of socialism? The Third Plenary Session proposed to develop socialist democracy and to perfect the socialist legal system, explicitly pointing out that "in our country there still exists a handful of counter-revolutionaries and criminal offenders who are hostile to and destructive of the construction of socialist modernization of our state. We must not slacken our class struggle with them or weaken the proletarian dictatorship." Does this not clearly require us to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat? The Third Plenary Session corrected the party's ideological lines and restored its fine traditions and work styles. Is this not precisely a vivid expression of adherence to party leadership? Restoring the original appearance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and requiring people to adopt a realistic attitude to treat this scientific ideological system are indeed this session's great merits and achievements, symbolic of true adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is therefore groundless to say that the Third Plenary Session did not mention the four basic principles, and it is even more erroneous to view the Third Plenary Session and the four basic principles as opposites.

It is precisely because the Third Plenary Session adhered to the four basic principles that our party can formulate a series of correct lines and general and specific policies that are in accord with objective reality; put an end to a decade of disorder for a stable, unified, lively and vigorous political situation; make a comparatively speedy reversal of the dangerous situation of the national economy that was on the verge of collapse and put forth the great goal of building a strong and modern socialist state.

The broad masses of cadres and people said it well: "China has a population of 1 billion and cannot do without a unified ideology. The mainstay of unified ideology is the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the four basic principles. These are the weapons to promote stability and unity and are safeguards in realizing the four modernizations." This is the conclusion from the personal political experience of the masses. Today, we are confronted with the task of taking further steps to readjust the national economy, which requires us to have a stable and unified political situation. Adherence to the four basic principles is precisely the basic guarantee for consolidating and developing a stable political situation and for completing the task of economic readjustment.

Some comrades consider adherence to the four basic principles a hindrance to emancipation of the mind. Some other propaganda departments, including this paper during an earlier period, lacked enthusiasm and initiative in publicizing the four basic principles and did not effectively criticize and struggle against some seriously incorrect mentality and behavior that went counter to these principles. This needs to be changed in earnest.

Are there any contradictions between the four basic principles and emancipation of the mind? To understand this problem clearly we must first define what is emancipation of the mind. To emancipate the mind is to be practical and realistic. It means that we must smash the spiritual yoke of modern superstition forced upon the people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; eradicate the mentality and influence of the exploitative class left behind by the old society; shake off the fetters of materialism, metaphysics, and all outworn concepts; use the scientific world outlook of Marxism to accurately understand the world so that subjective understanding the world so that subjective understanding is in accord with objective reality. The four basic principles to which we consistently adhere themselves demand the emancipation of the mind.

If so, why did the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee emphatically call for emancipation of the mind? The reason is that the four basic principles to which our party has consistently adhered were seriously damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for as long as 10 years. They used poor feudal socialism to pose as scientific socialism; substituted the people's democratic dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship with the most uncivilized and reactionary feudal-fascist "overall dictatorship"; openly called for "kicking out the party committee and making revolution" and replaced the party with the gang conspiring to utterly destroy the CCP; and spoke of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought but actually distorted, isolated, and falsified them, contaminating and damaging this mighty banner. The poison and influence of the prolonged reactionary propaganda of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created widespread rigidity in thinking and ideological confusion. The Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee proposed to emancipate the mind, exercise the brain, and be practical and realistic precisely in order to deal with such rigidity in thinking, and called on the people to emancipate themselves from the yoke of modern superstition created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; restore the truly scientific four basic principles that our party has consistently followed; continually study new circumstances and resolve new problems to enable us to follow the correct direction guided by Marxism-Leninism to carry out construction of socialist modernization from China's reality.

From this, it is obvious that emancipating the mind of adherence to the four basic principles are unified and complementary to each other. Only by the emancipation of the mind can the dense fog created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" be removed to correctly follow the four basic principles. Moreover, only if guided by the four basic principles can we correctly emancipate the mind and truly be practical and realistic. At present, some comrades, particularly in economic work, are still fettered by leftist ideology and view the central policy to take further steps to readjust the economy with hesitation and

vacillation. At the same time, some people deviate from the four basic principles and talk glibly about emancipation of the mind, thinking whatever they like to say is emancipation of the mind, even proposing that "all conventions must be broken." This is entirely incorrect. Deviation from the great framework of Marxism-Leninism and the four basic principles and talking about "emancipating the mind" will inevitably lead to evil ways.

Emancipation of the mind is our party's long-term policy. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out: "From now on we must continue to emancipate the mind in order to truly persist in being practical and realistic. To think that we have reached the end or surpassed it would be clearly incorrect." He also pointed out that it is likewise erroneous to "consider adherence to the four basic principles a possible hindrance to emancipation of the mind." Actually, this kind of ideological confusion has already given favorable conditions to the activities of some people who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos. They use the banner of "emancipation of the mind" to openly express anti-party and anti-socialist views. Are these dangerous signals not sufficient to arouse our vigilance?

Some comrades view adherence to the four basic principles and emancipation of the mind as opposites mainly because they lack a correct understanding of the policy of "relaxation." Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Relaxation is allowing everyone to air his views so that people dare to speak, criticize, and argue; be unafraid of erroneous discussion and poisonous things; develop mutual debate and criticism among different views, allowing the freedom to criticize as well as the freedom to reciprocate criticism; convince people by reasoning and not to use coercion in dealing with incorrect views." Therefore, development of criticism and self-criticism of incorrect thought among the people as well as the use of correct thinking to overcome incorrect thinking are inevitable demands of sound democratic life. As the central authorities initiated the four basic principles since the Third Plenary Session, democracy developed. The situation in which "ten thousand horses were all muted" has been removed and people dare to speak. This is a very good thing. We must earnestly carry out the "three nots"--not to seize on someone's mistakes or shortcomings, not to put labels on people, and not to come down with a big stick--reaffirmed by the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee. However, developing criticism of incorrect views is also "relaxation," for only by promoting arguments among different views can we enable views to gradually get closer to the truth. Allowing the expression of different viewpoints is "relaxation." The criticism of erroneous views by using facts and reasoning is also "relaxation." Where a certain ideology is treated as erroneous criticism, those who are being criticized are allowed to put forth counter-criticism, this is also "relaxation," and a practical and realistic attitude should be adopted. In any case, we cannot understand "relaxation" too narrowly and superficially. While it is "relaxation" to you it may be "restriction" to other people. One must not be absolutely sure that one possesses the truth. The policy of "relaxation" undoubtedly suits only the people internally. There has never been any problem of "relaxation" for all counter-revolutionaries, anti-party anti-socialists, and criminal offenders. On the contrary, we have never advocated letting them have their own way and will not allow them to take advantage of so-called "relaxation" to act wildly in defiance of the law or public opinion.

The focus of adherence to the four basic principles is adherence to party leadership. Without the Communist Party there would not be a New China, and without Communist Party leadership we would not be able to carry out socialist construction. This has been proven time and again by our country's long historical experience. Particularly in taking further steps to readjust the economy and achieve political stability, it is even more necessary for us to follow, strengthen, and improve party leadership. We must therefore criticize, educate, and if necessary struggle against any unhealthy tendencies that attempt to weaken, break away from, abolish, or oppose party leadership. This is the key to achieving the four modernizations as well as the present economic readjustment.

Adherence to and improvement of party leadership mainly require the strengthening of ideological and political work to safeguard successful implementation of party lines and general and specific policies. The core of the present strengthening of ideological and political work is to proceed from the personal experience of masses, boldly, forcefully, and convincingly disseminate the four basic principles, the policies of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, and the recent, great central policy decisions, thereby inspiring the people to increase their confidence and strive to implement the central policy decisions with one heart and one mind.

To follow and improve party leadership we must overcome the unhealthy tendencies existing in the party and strive to enhance the party's prestige. After the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has made considerable progress in adopting a series of significant measures and rectifying party conduct and discipline. Large numbers of Communist Party members, particularly comrades at the grassroots levels, were loyal and devoted, willing to bear the burden of office, shared the concerns of the party and state, and worked for the interests of the masses. We cannot make generalizations based on a single aspect or blind our vision by what is trivial, view individual phenomena as general phenomena or exaggerate what is part as the whole. Certainly not all or most party members have unhealthy tendencies, and certainly not all or most leading cadres seek special privileges. At the same time, we must also realize that the 10 calamitous years of damage to our party by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were the most serious in our party's history. Our party's conduct has not recovered to the level of the Yan'an period and the early period of the establishment of the state. As Communist Party members, we must carry forward the fine work styles of unifying theory and practice, close relationship with the masses, criticism and self-criticism. We must strictly implement party rules and regulations, conscientiously handle matters according to the "Several Standards on Internal Party Political Life," and resolutely struggle against unhealthy tendencies. Only in this way can our party's prestige be enhanced and can we strengthen party leadership in order that the party can undertake the great historically-charged mission to lead in the building of a strong, modern socialist state.

An important aspect of following and improving party leadership is the strengthening of organization and discipline. Every party member must act in obedience of the decisions of higher levels of organization according to the stipulations of the party constitution. In particular, they must maintain political consistency with



the Party Central Committee. The strength of the Communist Party lies in its organization. The party is not a simple total number of party members but is an organic, unified body established according to a certain organizational principle. This is the principle of democratic centralism by which the individual submits to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower levels to the higher levels, and the whole party to the Central Committee. If we deviate from this principle our party will have no unified action and therefore no fighting strength. At present, a small number of party members do not maintain political consistency with the Party Central Committee. They freely express views that are in dissent from the Party Central Committee and even adopt an erroneous attitude of feigned compliance to the lines, guiding principles, and a series of policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. For fallacies appearing in society and party life that are against socialist, proletarian dictatorship, party leadership, Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, some party members have let them go unchecked, have turned a blind eye to them, have been nonvigilant, and have failed to step forward boldly and solemnly carry out ideological struggle. Further, some party members like to listen to hearsay and gossip. Infused with liberalism they pay no attention to situations when they speak, spreading discontent and negative feelings. All these are precisely the strong manifestations of unhealthy tendencies in the party and so impair party character. If we do not firmly overcome them, central party lines and general and specific policies will not be well implemented, our ideology and practice will not be unified, the party will have no fighting strength, and we will not be able to accomplish the arduous task of readjusting the national economy. Therefore, each party member and leading cadre must take the lead in strengthening organization and discipline, obey the unified command of the Party Central Committee, and carry out an uncompromising struggle against views and conduct that are opposed to party leadership. Only in this way can we lead the people to take further steps to readjust the economy with one heart and one mind and achieve political stability so that the great guiding principles of the Party Central Committee may be transformed into the self-conscious action of hundreds of millions of people.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT LED BY LI HONGCHANG REVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 9 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Ye Shichang [5503 0013 2490]: "Two Small Textual Criticisms of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] This article deals with two small investigations of the Westernization movement and the Westernization group. Its publication may provide a reference to the evaluation of the Westernization group.

Li Hongchang was a representative of the Westernization group, whose remark that "a great transformation takes place in every 3,000 years or more" has drawn praise from the people. Was this remark first expressed by Li Hongchang? No. When he made that remark, it was in 1872. But as early as 1865, this view was already expressed ahead of him by Wang Tao [3769 7290] and Xue Fucheng [5641 4395 2052]. In his letter entitled "A Reply to Bao Xingzhou [0543 5429 3166], an Imperial Scholar," Wang Tao said: "A survey of the current situation shows that the act of commerce between China and some foreign nations may last as long as the life of the earth. In reality, I am deeply concerned with what I previously called the initiatives of the world and changes that are unfolding. Poverty gives rise to the desire for changes, and changes will bring solution. This is the road to self-renewal of which both China and barbarians are well aware." ("Taoyuan Correspondence") In his "Letter to Marquis and Premier Zeng," Xue Fucheng said: "The current situation at home and abroad results from changes in the ancient and modern times." ("Foreign Section of Yong'an Manuscript") Wang Tao frequently exchanged views with the foreign affairs officials through correspondence, while Xue Fucheng was an aide to Zeng Guofan [2582 0948 5672] and Li Hongchang, and often drafted imperial proposals on their behalf. It appeared that Li Hongchang was well aware of their views, and his remark that "a great transformation takes place in every 3,000 years or more" was a development of their views.

Secondly, today, some people have declared that the Westernization group was known for their stand for "self-renewal" and "increasing the wealth of the state." This assertion needs to be further verified. "Self-renewal" was not a term exclusively used by the Westernization group. In the modern time, it first appeared in a work by Wei Yuan [7614 3293]. In his "Account of Imperial Forces--a Visit to Foreign Warships of the Taoguang Reign," published in 1842, Wei Yuan said: His proposal for the continuation of foreign trade stemmed from a desire for "self-improvement and self-renewal." In other words, the foreign trade could clear the way for importing technology from the West, and for "turning

Western technology to the advantage of China." From then on, the slogan "self-renewal" gradually became a universal voice that reverberated throughout China. It also became a household word for some people and therefore, cannot be considered the sole voice of the Westernization group. Even among the people who stood for "self-renewal," differences existed over how to make it possible. In the 1960's, the program to learn from the West was summarized by Feng Guifen [7458 2710 5358] as a "combination of warships and guns," stressing the "needs to use the western equipment rather than adopt western etiquettes" saying that "this is a real road for self-renewal." ("Jiaofenlu Proposals and Counter-proposals for the Manufacture of Foreign Equipment") This policy was also followed by the Westernization group which limited the program to learn from the West to the study of military and production technologies from beginning to end. In 1865, Li Hongchang said: "The manufacture of machinery is an asset essential to defense against aggression and a basic way for self-renewal." ("Imperial Proposals: Purchase of Foreign Machinery Plants" vol 9) In 1880, he said "China can never become strong" without deciding to purchase the steel-armored ships" vol 36). In 1885, he said: "Students should be selected to pursue Western studies and receive training abroad as the basic formula for making China strong." ("Imperial Proposals: Request for Granting Scholarships to Students Pursuing Studies Abroad") "Western studies" mentioned here refers to the branch of natural science. In 1888, he called the building of railways "a basic method for self-renewal." ("Letters Concerning Navy: Refutation of Proposals by Officials in the Capital To Prevent the Building of Railways" vol 3) This proposal for "self-renewal" was conceived by the Westernization group. Wang Tao and Zheng Guanying [6774 6034 2019] were known as reformers during the early stage of the bourgeoisie. From the outset, they too proceeded with their discussion about the "self-renewal" from the angle of learning technology. But, later, they quickly found it necessary to expand the dimension of learning. In 1879, Wang Tao proposed that "the roads to self-renewal starts with self-government." ("Taoyuan Correspondence: A Letter to Inspector Zheng Yuxiang [6774 3768 6513]") Eventually, they extended their talks to politics. In addition to praising the Western parliamentary system, some of them even proposed to establish the legislative bodies in China.

The term "a desire to increase the wealth of the Chinese state" was presumably a summary of a longer phrase by the people of contemporary time because it could be found in documents of that time. The original term "desire to increase the wealth of the state" which was normally referred to as an advocacy of the Westernization group came from Li Hongchang's 1882 proposal for the establishment of a textile bureau, which read in part: "Your Majesty, today as in the past, a nation must first become rich before it can become strong. When the people become rich, the foundation of the nation will be further consolidated." ("Imperial Proposals: Operation of Textile Mills on a Trial Basis" vol 43) Actually, he forged a close relationship between "a wealthy state and a strong nation" long ago. For example, in 1872, he said that the mechanical mining of coal and iron reserves was particularly essential to a wealthy state and powerful army." ("Imperial Proposals: The Projected Shipbuilding Operation Should Not Be Terminated" vol 19) Wealth is a basis for being strong. This is common sense, and a much talked about point since the period of the warring states in China. In modern times, the term "being wealthy and strong" was not a phrase used by the Westernization group alone.

Disputes also existed between the reformers during the early stage of the bourgeoisie and the Westernization group over how to make their country rich

and strong, just as their difference overhauled to "make their nation renew its strength." The reformers suggested that the westerners had adopted two tactics to make their nations rich and strong--one is based on their long-range interests and the other on their short-term interests; their long-range efforts were in the direction of reforming the political system, while their short-term interests were in improving military and production technologies. Wang Tao called the excellent military training, sophisticated weapons, adequate supplies of coal and iron, and well-developed commerce in England short-term interests, saying: "The key to success in making a nation wealthy and strong lies in an effort to achieve rapport between those on top and those at the bottom and to forge a close relationship between the royal family and commoners." ("Foreign Section of Taoyuan Manuscript: An Account of British Politics") He criticized the Westernization group for pursuing only short-term interests in this field, for "knowing only skin-deep about the West," and for failing to follow the long-term strategy in "reshaping the organization." ("Foreign Affairs Section" of the above book) Zheng Guanying pointed out: "Warships and guns are not the only weapons to remove the root of disorder and make a nation wealthy and strong; if China wants to become rich and militarily strong, it must take the first step to establish a parliament." ("A Current Topic: Parliament") There are other related arguments that cannot be presented here.

The aforementioned investigation indicates: an evaluation of a historical figure's thoughts cannot be properly done unless it is combined with a survey of the entire range of the social trends of his time. As far as I know, some of Li Hongchang's views on learning from the West were not developed by himself but by the reformers of the early stage of the bourgeoisie. Li Hongchang only inherited those views. Since the reformers of the early stage of the bourgeoisie advanced far ahead of him, Li Hongchang could accept from them what he considered acceptable to him.

9574

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### PROMOTION OF SOCIALIST MORALITY EMPHASIZED

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 81 p 2

[Semimonthly discussion: "What is the Content of Socialist Morality?"]

[Text] When the editors were assembling the publication "Discussion on Questions of Morality," they summarized the relatively uniform view of the readers on "Socialist Morality," saying that to build our country into a strong, modernized country with a high level of material and spiritual civilization, we must strengthen ideological and political work at the same time as we develop our economy and culture, and conscientiously advance education in socialist morality.

Socialism has its own morality, and although it is difficult to make a scientific generalization about it at one stroke, what has been promoted in the past as the "five loves" (love the country, love the people, love labor, love science, and cherish public property) should not be lacking in the content of socialist morality; many of the virtues of working people, such as diligence, courage, honesty, modesty, thrift, fraternity, taking pleasure in helping others, respect for the aged and love of children, observing public order and not abusing others, paying attention to public health, etc., should also be included. No matter what content socialist morality may embrace, there is one basic principle, and that is collectivism.

The key to establishing a good social style is to practice a good party style. At the same time, we must also not neglect moral education for the whole society. We must make every effort to talk of morality as praiseworthy, and not as shameful. Young people are the future of our country, and the realization of the four modernizations depends primarily on them. Young people are an important area for conducting education in socialist morality.

9284

CSO: 4005



## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE PRAISES MARX'S NATURAL SCIENCE ACHIEVEMENTS

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 2

[Article by Jiang Yingmeng [5592 5391 1125] and Wu Enzhuang [0702 1869 1104]: "Marx and Natural Science"]

[Text] Proletarian revolution leader Marx set great store by the effects of science and technology on social development. In the midst of his busy work of leading the international workers' movement, in the tense labor of establishing the theory of proletarian revolution, he always expended a great deal of time and effort studying and researching scientific and technical questions. He not only had an erudite knowledge of social sciences; he also made a broad and profound study of the natural sciences, even making original contributions in some areas.

Marx spent almost two-thirds of his life writing his enormous work, "Das Kapital." He read and researched more than 1,500 books, of which a considerable part were works on natural science and engineering technology. He investigated the history of engineering technology and the history of agricultural development, researched practical technology and agricultural chemistry, Darwin's theory of evolution, mathematics, etc. Marx read Darwin's "Origin of the Species" repeatedly and used Darwin's theory to refute Malthusianism. To understand practical technology and inquire into the period of industrial reproduction, he studied Baibiji's "On the Economies of Factories and Machines," and also went to the geological association especially to hear the lectures of Professor Weilisi [transliteration]. To clarify the question of land rent, he researched works on agricultural science in the British Museum, especially those on agricultural chemistry.

Marx's achievements in mathematics were profound; he studied mathematics painstakingly, even keeping it up through the grief-filled days when his wife was critically ill, making an outstanding achievement. Engels pointed out many times: "Marx has mastered mathematics," and "he has made original discoveries." Marx's "Mathematics Manuscript" is one of the rich treasures he has left to us. Marx believed that mathematics had great significance for the development of other sciences. He pointed out that any science could not be considered really developed until it reached the point where it could employ mathematics. Marx employed mathematics proficiently in "Das Kapital." He used a great many mathematical formulas and calculations to expound precisely on the production and flow of capital and to reveal boldly the secrets and nature of capitalism. With regard to many profound revolutionary theories, Marx used mathematical methods to expound on them further and more profoundly in a style both lively and specific, easy for the working man to understand and accept.



Marx held scientists in particularly high regard; he treasured his friendships with scientists, and learned from scientists open-mindedly. Karl Schorlemmer was the foremost chemist of that time, and had made many important contributions in the field of chemistry, especially organic chemistry. Marx held Schorlemmer in exceptionally high regard, and they established a deep revolutionary friendship in the course of more than 12 years of exchanges. The principal content of their ordinary conversation and written communications were questions of natural science. Marx read Schorlemmer's monographs on chemistry often, making them a kind of Sunday recreation. When Marx wrote "Das Kapital," he often asked Schorlemmer for guidance on questions of natural science and corrected the inaccuracies in what he had written according to Schorlemmer's ideas. In 1873, Engels sent Marx an outline of "Natural Dialectic," which he was writing in criticism of Bixina, for his opinion. Bixina was a natural scientist with an erroneous point of view, and Marx was very prudent about this business, admitting that he himself had not studied it, nor had he discussed it with anyone influential in natural science, and he declined to respond for the time being. Later, Marx asked Schorlemmer for guidance, and he answered Engels in accordance with Schorlemmer's opinions.

Marx had an extraordinarily close relationship with Schorlemmer. Marx's whole family treated Schorlemmer as a member of the family and commonly invited him to their home for holidays or to go on trips with them, and they gave Schorlemmer a number of intimate and humorous nicknames, getting along with him a close and unrestrained way. Marx helped Schorlemmer to master the dialectical materialist world view and induced him to take part in the workers' movement, to become a communist who struggled for the proletarian revolution. Schorlemmer likewise had great respect for Marx, and when Marx was gravely ill late in his life, Schorlemmer wrote humorous verses for him, to keep up his spirits.

Marx said: "Science has no level highways, and there is no hope of reaching the glorious pinnacle without men who are unafraid to toil and climb along precipitous mountain roads." This is a true representation of Marx's own magnificent life. It really was this spirit of not being afraid to work hard, his firm and indomitable will, and his undaunted determination that made him climb to the pinnacle not only in the social sciences, but brought him as well to a broad and erudite knowledge of the natural sciences, even to the point of achieving outstanding accomplishments.

9284

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### POEM 'GENERALS AND SOLDIERS' AROUSES STRONG RESENTMENT

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 81 p 3

[Article: "Criticisms on the Short Poem 'Generals and Soldiers' Within and Without the Armed Forces"]

[Text] The short poem "Generals and Soldiers," which appeared last December in a certain publication, immediately aroused violent resentment within and without the armed forces, and a number of newspapers and magazines published one article after the other of literary criticism.

On 21 December, Su Ce [5685 4595] published an article "Criticism of 'Generals and Soldiers'" in the YUNNAN RIBAO, which is reproduced in this year's issue No 2 of the WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART]. After submitting the said poem to a concrete analysis, Su Ce pointed out: "...I have thought it over a hundred times and still cannot understand why this poem should describe in such terrible terms what actually is a close and intimate relationship between officers and soldiers in the units of our armed forces, which took shape in the bloody battles of several decades, when wave after wave laid down their lives for our country and its people. Was their relationship an antagonistic one, both sides incompatible as fire and water? Was the poet perhaps ignorant of the fact that our generals had risen from the ranks of common soldiers? What did he intend to tell his readership with all his distortions? Are we not to have any officers at all? How can army units fight without officers, and how can they possibly defeat an enemy? How was the liberation of the entire country brought about? How was it possible for our counterattack to be victorious?

Later, the GUOFANG ZHANSHI [NATIONAL DEFENSE FIGHTER] newspaper of 10 January used the space of one whole page to specially reprint Su Ce's article (in excerpt) and additionally published five poems and articles in criticism. In his commentary the editor remarks, "In the poem 'Generals and Soldiers' the poet mechanically takes over the topic of an old poem, namely 'One general's meritorious achievement means tens of thousands of bleaching skeletons,' and in a mournful, desolate, gloomy, and alarming tone misrepresents and vilifies the relationship between higher and lower ranks in the army and the image of its officers, and also negates the proletarian class character of our armed forces, our aims in building up our army and all the many decades of its past glorious battles. This poem was published at a time when the people were urgently in need of a political state of stability and unity. It was published today when our people are striving for economic construction. It was

published when the little tyrants of Vietnam continuously challenge us with their armed provocations, when gunfire can be heard every day along our frontiers, when the soldiers and officers of our border defense forces are at all times on the alert to fight heroically in the defense of our fatherland and of our four modernization projects. This indeed cannot but shock and infuriate us." Wen Hua [5113 5478] of the Yunnan provincial military district wrote an article entitled, "Do You Understand Our Generals, Soldiers and People?" He says in this article: "The poem 'Generals and Soldiers' idegnantly protests against the treatment of our soldiers, but all its 'emotion-laden' utterances merely reveal the ideological gap between the poet and the soldiers. Speaking only of the conditions of treatment, there is no need to make comparisons with the generals, even compared with the living conditions of the poet, our soldiers are worse off. We are not covering up the objective facts that the living conditions of our soldiers are truly worse than those of the generals, just as there are differences between directors and workers in factories, or between captains and sailors on ships. Why does the poet one-sidedly focus on the relationship between upper and lower ranks in the military units as something incompatible, like fire and water?... You, poet, why do you depict in this way the very people's army that is protecting you? You, editor, what good did you see in this poem? How can a poem like this be of any benefit for the building up of a modernized revolutionary army, or for solidarity between army and people? I wish the poet and the editor would visit our military camps that are filled with warm cordiality, go to the defense lines along our borders with their smell of gunpowder, let both of them familiarize themselves thoroughly with the conditions of our soldiers and generals; they should then and only then take up the pen and start writing." Apart from the above article, the issue also contained Zhang Yong's [4545 0516] "Whose Generals Are They After All," Yu Tiejun's [0131 6993 6511] "We Will Not Permit a Distortion of the Image of the People's Army," Wang Changxia's [3769 2490 1115] "The Relationship Between Officers and Soldiers in Our Army Leaves No Room for Incitement to Mutual Distrust." There was also the following poem "Sobering Up" written by Meng Zhi [1125 4160], using poetry to criticize a poem:

Never smelled the fumes of gunpowder,  
Nor heard the whistle of shell fragments,  
Nor carried off the corpses of fallen comrades,  
Nor watched heroes in bloody battle!

How then:

Speak as soldiers,  
Think as soldiers,  
Feel as soldiers would!

How then know:

Where our generals come from,  
What our generals' frustrations are,  
What merits our generals have achieved...

Our generals must have the ability to lead thousands of soldiers  
to charge the enemy lines,  
But must not take the place of soldiers in a bayonet charge.  
The soldiers are what our generals have been before,  
The generals are the pride of our soldiers!

The February issue of the JIEFANGJUN WENYI [PLA LITERATURE AND ART] published Yi Ban's [0122 7090], "Don't Fail To Recognize Our Present Era," in which he wrote, "Perhaps the poem 'Generals and Soldiers' intended to 'sing the praises' of our soldiers, but the poem neither shows any understanding of our soldiers, nor any respect for them. The basic difference between our people's army and the soldiers of the old armies consists in their understanding exactly for whom they shoulder their guns and the true reasons for going into battle. The high degree of political consciousness, their courage in facing hardships and death, create the confidence in the purpose and objectives of our people's army and the quest for the ideals of communism. If they were asked to sell their lives only for a small group of generals, as it was in the reactionary armies of the past, our soldiers would never muster their enormous fighting spirit. How can anyone speak of 'singing the praises of the soldiers' if the poem 'Generals and Soldiers' describes our soldiers, who heroically sacrifice their lives, in such murky terms; how can that truly and sincerely be called 'singing the praises' of them?"

In an article by Lin Hanbiao [265] 3211 5903] "Pay Attention to the Social Effects of Literature and Art, Correctly Reflect the Spirit of the Times," published in the GONGREN RIBAO [WORKERS DAILY] of 9 February, the poem "Generals and Soldiers" is being criticized as follows: "As the poem 'Generals and Soldiers' gives such a distorted description of an antagonistic relationship between the comrades generals and the comrades soldiers in our revolutionary armed forces, and even goes so far as to engage in an appalling vilification of the memorial to our martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the revolutionary battles, it is a complete distortion of the spirit of our proletarian revolutionary era with necessarily most harmful effects on society; it is therefore arousing the resentment of the broad readership and will of course, naturally, be criticized."

8453

CSO: 4005



## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE EMPHASIZES UPHOLDING PARTY LEADERSHIP

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Gui Quan [6311 3123]: "The Core of the Four Basic Principles Is Party Leadership"]

[Text] Why do we say upholding leadership is the core of upholding the four basic principles? Because it is determined by the nature of the party and by the inter-relationship between party leadership and the other three principles. The Communist Party of China is the political party of the Chinese proletariat and the vanguard of the proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the ideological system of the proletariat is the only correct guiding thought of the party. To strive for socialism and communism is the great historical mission of the proletariat as well as the objective of party struggle. And to achieve this objective, the proletariat and its political party must rely on the political power in their hands, which means the people's democratic dictatorship--that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is to say, the nature of our party determines that it must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding thought, socialism and communism as the objective of its struggle, and people's democratic dictatorships--i.e., dictatorship of the proletariat--as the necessary means to the objective of struggle. Therefore, to uphold party leadership is necessarily to uphold the other three principles at the same time. On the other hand, in order to uphold the other three principles, it is imperative to uphold party leadership. This is because it is up to the party to propagate and practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, up to the party to lead the proletariat and the working people in realizing socialism and communism, and up to the party to command and exercise the people's democratic dictatorship. Apart from party leadership, there is no way to uphold the other three principles. For this reason, upholding party leadership is the core of upholding all four basic principles.

If we want to uphold party leadership, we must first of all formulate and carry out a set of correct lines and general and specific policies under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in light of the concrete practice of revolution. This is the most fundamental aspect of party leadership. It is precisely through its lines and general and specific policies that the party carries out its guiding thought and political programs and organizes and mobilizes the masses to realize its tasks. The fundamental reason party leadership was severely undermined in the past, particularly during the great cultural revolution, was because the party line deviated to the "left." After the "gang of four" was smashed, particularly



since the third plenum of the party, our party summed up experiences and lessons of the past and overcame past errors, formulated not only a correct ideological line but also a correct political and organizational line on this basis and worked out a complete set of general and specific policies and concrete measures for carrying out the correct lines. The attitude toward the lines and general and specific policies of the party is the fundamental attitude toward party leadership. All comrades of the party should consciously fall in with the Central Committee. They are not permitted to adopt a double-dealing attitude and tactics--complying in public but opposing in private--toward party lines and general and specific policies. As long as the rank and file of the party are of one heart and the higher and lower levels are of one mind, the line and general and specific policies laid down at the third plenum will be effectively carried out and party leadership will be fundamentally insured. Second, in order to uphold party leadership, it is imperative to strengthen the organizational building of the party and bring into full play the role of party organizations as the organizational guarantee. The party is the whole, composed of organizations at various levels; the lines and general and specific policies of the party are to be carried out through the party organizations at various levels; the 38 million party members are to be managed by party organizations at various levels. Therefore, in order to uphold party leadership, it is imperative to strengthen the organizational building of the party. Only by so doing can party leadership be guaranteed organizationally. Third, in order to uphold party leadership, it is imperative to strengthen the ideological building of the party, insure correct party style and bring the exemplary role of party members into full play. For the ruling party, it is particularly important to pay attention to the question of party style. Because of the ruling position occupied by the party, certain party members who are ideologically not steadfast are likely to become arrogant, self-complacent, privileged and imbued with undesirable styles of bureaucratism and command, to damage party's flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and to weaken the leading role of the party. Since the founding of the republic, our party has given importance to the ideological building of the party and preserved and carried forward our party's fine tradition and style, thereby insuring victory for the socialist cause of our nation. However, during the 10-year period of unprecedented calamity, our party style was undermined as never before. After the "gang of four" was smashed, particularly since the third plenum of the party, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to the question of party style and has consistently taken party style as an important feature of bringing order out of chaos. The Central Committee has set up central and local party organizations to inspect discipline, drawn up and promulgated "rules of political life within the party," and held many meetings to study how to improve the party style. Thanks to the series of effective measures taken by the Central Committee and the efforts exerted by all party comrades, our party style has improved a great deal over the past 2 years. But compared with the early stage of nationwide liberation, it has not taken a fundamental turn for the better. Improper style remains a serious problem for some localities and units. Some people assume a dishonest attitude toward the party line and general and specific policies, feigning obedience, and saying one thing and meaning another. Some people, taking advantage of the functions and power given by the party and people, seek private gain, form factions and put their trusted followers in key positions. Regardless of party principle, some people try to establish personal relations, enter by the back door, invite somebody to dinner, send somebody presents, accept bribes, squander state and collective property, and damage the party and its reputation. Some people, relying on their power, slander and denounce good people. Some practice fraud, deceive their superiors and delude their subordinates, blow trumpets, flatter others, seize the opportunity to gain advantage by trickery. Some, bureaucratic and

irresponsible in attitude, cause huge losses in state property and in life. To be sure, these tendencies do not exist as far as the majority of party members or the majority of our cadres are concerned, but their evil influences and serious harm can by no means be underestimated. These improper tendencies damage party prestige, undermine party relations with the masses, weaken the party's fighting capacity and lend themselves to the unhealthy mood of society. If they are not promptly rectified and are allowed to spread unchecked, it will be impossible to restore the shining image of the party and to bring into play the role of the party as the core of leadership. Moreover, these improper tendencies will undermine stability and unity, undermine the four modernizations and the economic readjustment, and ultimately endanger the existence of the party itself. It is not an exaggeration to say that the question of party style is a matter of life and death for the ruling party. The most important thing to do to insure a correct party style is to bring home to the whole body of party members, particularly the leading party cadres at all levels, the utmost importance of party style to the ruling party and to mobilize the whole party to combat the improper tendencies. Party departments set up to inspect discipline should dare to uphold principle, promote righteousness and take a firm and clear stand on major issues of principle. Provided the whole party is mobilized to exert efforts, the fine tradition and style of the party will soon be restored and promoted, the image of our party will be raised higher and the relations between the party and the masses will be brought closer. Only thus can the party play its role as the core of leadership in uniting the masses and guiding them forward.

Upholding party leadership and bringing the role of the party as the core of leadership into play conforms not only with the interests of the party but also with the interests of the whole nation. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, a large country like China would certainly fall apart and accomplish nothing. Therefore, to uphold party leadership and improve party leadership is not only the task of the leading party members but is a cause common to hundreds of millions of people in our country. The whole body of Communist Party members, particularly the leading party cadres, should consciously improve party leadership, correctly uphold party leadership. All revolutionary people should endeavor to help the party improve its leadership and consciously accept and support party leadership.

Our party is full of promise. Despite some errors and even serious errors committed in the past and despite its many shortcomings, it should be remembered that the errors were committed in the past and are being overcome. Our party has relied on its strength to correct its past errors and is going a step further and summing up its experiences and lessons. Our party has gained an understanding of its shortcomings and is taking effective measures to remedy them. We should have full confidence in our party, show concern for it, love it, support it and help it.

As long as people inside and outside the party are of one mind and one heart and make efforts together to improve party leadership and strengthen party leadership, it will be possible to uphold party leadership more effectively and to insure implementation of the other three principles. Thus, it will be possible to achieve stability and unity and fulfill the task of consciously readjusting the national economy.

## PARTY AND STATE

### MAINTAINING PROPER SPIRITUAL ATTITUDE STRESSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 81 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Maintain a Proper Spiritual State"]

[Text] Proceeding from the national condition of our country, the Party Central Committee has determined the important principle of carrying out further readjustment in our economy and realizing further stability in our politics. Today, the tasks that lie ahead of us are arduous. In order to accomplish the various tasks proposed by the Party Central Committee, we must not only correctly and profoundly understand the party's line, principles and policies and thereby maintain proper thinking, but also collect ourselves and make efforts to maintain a proper spiritual state.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, man must have some spirit. Our party has always stressed giving scope to the role of our revolutionary spirit. A very important reason why our party has been able during the past 60 years to advance steadily from victory to victory through so many difficulties and obstacles was, apart from the party's correct line, to rely on giving scope to our revolutionary and death-defying spirit, on strictly abiding by discipline and the spirit of self-sacrifice, on the spirit of selflessness and yielding to others, on the spirit of prevailing over all enemies and over all difficulties, and on adhering to revolutionary optimism and the spirit of removing all difficulties in order to achieve victory. Today, the Party Central Committee stresses that we must exert our revolutionary spirit; this means in essence that we must give full play to all these kinds of revolutionary spirit which the party has always advocated in the new historical period.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the spiritual state of the overwhelming majority of our cadres has been excellent. They have crushed the myriad fetters the 10-year turmoil left on them, their thinking is liberated and their spirit is collected, and they have been exerting themselves at work with the same revolutionary and death-defying spirit of the years of war in the past. The valiancy of old generals has not decreased, while to new soldiers has been added today's ambition; a country with all neglected tasks to be undertaken again and all disorders to straighten out thus gradually regained its strength. But, we should also see that the spiritual state of some cadres still remains ill-suited to the tasks our party now faces. Therefore, the Party Central Committee requires us to do our best to maintain a proper spiritual state.



In order to maintain a proper spiritual state, we think we must exert ourselves to achieve "three musts":

First, we must establish firm confidence in the inevitable triumph of the party's cause. Today, some of our comrades do not have enough confidence; when they encounter difficulties, they resort to sighing, and when they face contradictions, they resort to complaining; in carrying out their work, they maintain a perfunctory attitude. This is one manifestation that their spirit is not collected. We communists should at whatever time have full confidence in sure victory with respect to the party's cause. In the battlefield, in prison, and in the arena of execution in the past, many comrades were able to despise the enemy, prevail over difficulties, rush straight forward with courage, and look upon death as if it were going home; this was precisely because in their minds there was a confidence in sure victory as to the communist cause. As we enter the era of socialist construction, we must also have such confidence. We want to build a modern, highly democratic, and highly civilized socialist power; this is an unprecedented cause, and we can hardly presume that there would be no difficulties or slumps. The 10-year disaster, plus failings in our own work, has indeed brought us difficulties; there are latent dangers in our national economy. But these are difficulties on our advancing path which can all be overcome. History is the best witness; leaving remote examples aside, have we not, in the case of such serious difficulties during the 3-year difficult period, quickly overcome those difficulties, and speedily achieved recovery and development in our national economy by relying on the party and the masses? In the case of the situation of serious confusion brought about by the 10-year disaster, too, has not the new situation of stability, unity and devotion to the four modernizations equally quickly emerged as we relied on the party and the masses to carry out the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to return to order from disorder? Believe in the party and believe in the masses; these are two fundamental principles. Today, we have the Party Central Committee's firm and correct leadership, a Marxist political line, ideological line, and organizational line, and vast ranks of conscious, diligent and courageous people; there can be no difficulty which cannot be overcome, and no "mountain of fire" that we cannot cross. We must especially see that the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was a fundamental turn of historic nature; it guided our cause of construction from the course of "leftist" mistakes to the course of scientific socialism; this is our basic guarantee for achieving victory. Therefore, we must have full confidence in the party's leadership, in the line, principles and policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and in the future of the four modernizations. We communists are working and struggling for the solution of difficulties at any time. Acknowledging our difficulties, being unafraid of difficulties, and overcoming difficulties; these are representative of the fighting style we ought to have. We have no reason whatsoever to resort to sighing, nor should we resort to complaining, and still less should we maintain a perfunctory attitude at work, wishing to accomplish nothing. Exactly on the contrary, we should exert our spirit, welcome difficulties to fight against, put our feet on firm ground, and concentrate on hard work, so as to win new victories.

Second, we must give scope to the spirit of dedication to the party and the state. Having the courage to dedicate oneself to the motherland and the people is in reality consciously connecting closely together the motherland's future and one's own destiny. The motherland is our own; we ourselves belong to the motherland.

Everybody has a responsibility with respect to the rise or fall of his country, but the responsibilities of communists and party cadres are even greater. Since they share weal or woe with the nation when it is safe or when it faces danger, communists and party cadres should even more consciously share the party's worries, the country's worries, and the people's worries.

Today, some of our comrades are thinking less of the party's destiny and less of the motherland's future; they consider in every case, instead, their own individual gain or loss. Some comrades are abandoning their principles and afraid of offending others, so that they seek to avoid contradictions and dare not to struggle. For the sake of the party's cause and the people's interests, we should renounce our gain or loss but adhere to our stand characterized by the party spirit; in respect to those erroneous words and deeds which doubt, resist or oppose the party's principles and policies, in respect to thoughts and expressions opposed to the four basic principles, and in respect to various illegal and criminal activities undermining stability and unity, we should have the courage to expose and criticize, and to carry out resolute struggles, and definitely not let them happen and leave them alone. There are also some comrades who are inclined to haggle over their individual reputation and benefit, positions, and salaries, or engage in sibling rivalry with each other and drift toward disunity. Such a situation must be quickly corrected. We communists are dedicated to lifelong struggle for the communist cause, and definitely cannot just strive for private gains. Otherwise, he is not a true communist. Our every word and deed must be predicated upon the norm of the interests of the vast ranks of the people. In the long years of war, party members and party cadres both gained the confidence of the people by dedicating themselves to the people. Today, we must similarly gain the confidence of the people by our spirit of dedication. If not corrected, those who day in and day out worry about their individual gains and losses, busily engage in struggling for their own reputation and benefit, and compare with each other on enjoyments would not only seriously damage the image of our party and hamper the great cause of the four modernizations, but also inevitably divorce themselves from the masses and end their own future. We must resolutely do this: as long as the party's cause requires it, no matter how heavy the task may be and no matter how great the difficulty may be, we must step forward and advance in the face of known hardship without calculating individual gains or losses, without being afraid of sacrificing everything we have, including even the giving of our own lives. So long as we all have such a spirit of dedication, there would be great hope for the cause of our four modernizations, and any miracle on earth can be created.

Third, we must strive to become models of hard struggle and pioneering our cause through industry and frugality. Hard struggle is a fine tradition of our party. With this spirit, we should be able to emanate the potentialities in us to the maximum extent. The foundation of our state is very weak, and our manpower and financial and material resources are limited; it would simply not do if we do not struggle hard. Our burdens are heavy even while our shoulders may be rather tender; we can only clench our teeth and endure with a dogged will. During the long March, we fared through our difficulties and dangers by biting grassroots and chewing bark; during the Yanan period, we overcame our difficulties by self-salvation through production; during the 3-year period of difficulties we also came through by frugal practices on the part of the people of the whole country. As we come to work on our four modernizations today, our conditions are far better than in those days; but demands of the masses of the people in their material life are also much



higher than in those days, and the country's population has greatly increased; the state's burdens have become much heavier, hence we should be even less inclined to throw away our tradition of hard struggle. Hard work can make people even more intelligent and industrious; hard work can make people even more sturdy and courageous. Our cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres, must strive to become models of hard struggle and pioneering our cause by industry and frugality. We must continue to implement the "Guiding Principles," earnestly rectify party workstyle, oppose bureaucracy, and oppose the privilege-seeking mentality and privilege-seeking workstyle. We must put hard work ahead of pleasure and definitely refrain from going in for pomp, resorting to ostentation, and aspiring to comfort. We must share weal and woe with the masses and look after the living conditions of the masses in every way. We must go down deep to the basic level and deep to actualities, conduct investigation and study, and do our work well. So long as cadres at various levels and the vast ranks of party members give scope to their vanguard and model roles, we are bound to be able to lead the masses to struggle hard together, pioneer our cause by industry and frugality, and build our country well.

With our spiritual state properly maintained, we will feel pleasant and exalted in devoting ourselves to our work. Our old party members and old cadres must further give play to the revolutionary spirit like that of those years of war in the past and carry this spirit forward, so that the younger generation can inherit and develop it. It can be predicted that the revolutionary spirit like that of the Yanan period, the early days after liberation, and the 3-year period of difficulties is bound to shine anew and play a great role in our march toward the four modernizations today.

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CSO: 4003

## PARTY AND STATE

### ON LEI FENG SPIRIT, SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Bring the Lei Feng Spirit into Play; Build Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] At present, a fervent tide of building socialist spiritual civilization is surging among the people of the whole country; songs of praise for learning from the Lei Feng spirit are continually carried in the air; heroic stories conveying the Communist spirit of risking one's own life to save others and devotion to the public at one's own expense roar in the sky like spring thunders:

Because they were trying to save some children who had fallen into the water, Gao Yuntao [7559 0061 3447] and Tian Jiya [3944 4949 6460] dedicated their precious lives;

Hu Ahsu [5170 7093 4790] saved more than 10,000 yuan by frugal practices and presented the entire amount to the state;

Ge Zhenguo [5514 2182 0948], Liu Bingchun [0491 3521 2504], and Hu Fengtu [2083 7685 0956] exerted themselves fearlessly to save some children who had fallen into the water;

.....

Like the spring wind, these lofty deeds have dissipated the dark clouds which covered people's minds because the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques sabotaged the fine traditions of our Party and social customs; people's moods have become cheerful.

During the period of the 10-year disaster, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques turned right and wrong upside down and exchanged shame for glory; civilization, etiquette and moral cultivation were condemned with the "revisionist" stamp, whereas the savage behavior of beating, smashing and looting was conferred the designation "revolutionary activity" as they polluted our social customs. The masses of the people became extremely disheartened at the time and they all sighed that "Uncle Lei Feng is no longer around"; this indicated their deep nostalgia toward the previous good social customs. In the 1950's and early

Comrade Lei Feng did. We must be determined to oppose the corrupt ideas of the bourgeoisie in thinking only about profit, benefiting oneself at the expense of others, and "considering money" regarding everything; we should be willing to remain revolutionary "simpletons" and devote our limited lives to the unlimited cause of serving the people, add lustre to our party, and make gains for the people; we should remain hardworking and simplistic and go all out to make the country strong like Comrade Lei Feng did. We must oppose the bourgeois mentality and style of extravagance and waste, oppose putting a premium on empty talk, on deviation from honest effort, and on performing one's duty in a perfunctory manner, and attack importance to the larger situation, take pride in working under difficult conditions, promote the spirit of willingness to bear the burden of office and to get right to the job, and thereby make our greatest possible contribution to the accomplishment of economic readjustment and realization of political stability; we must, like Comrade Lei Feng, draw a clear line between our love and hatred, struggle against devious styles and practices, propagate by words and exemplify by deeds, support the upright and suppress the degenerate, do our best to establish new customs and serve as promoters so as to effect a fundamental transformation of the urban and countryside social customs and moral outlook in our province.

While bringing into play the Lei Feng spirit and building socialist spiritual civilizations, we must both anticipate that this policy is going to inspire enthusiastic response from the vast ranks of the masses of the people and at the same time see that, because the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques wrought very serious havoc upon our social customs, we cannot expect to witness instant change in our social customs once we begin to promote Communist ethics and build socialist spiritual civilization and hence relax our work; we must incorporate our determination to change our social customs in down-to-earth work. We must see that the degrees of people's consciousness are different. Just as the socialist economy is a multi-leveled one, the degrees of people's consciousness are also multi-leveled. This requires that, when we carry out socialist and Communist spiritual education on a general basis, we guide people to proceed from different points of departure in consciousness; we must both grasp models, popularize models, establish new customs and at the same time advance in an orderly fashion, launch our work in many aspects, and march deeper and deeper toward our common goals. In particular, we must distinguish Communist ideological education from the economic policies of socialism at the present stage. For instance, among our personalities of the Lei Feng type many demonstrate the Communist spirit of laboring without thinking of reward; this is undoubtedly very noble and should also be energetically promoted. But, insofar as our present conditions are concerned, there are still only a small number of people who can govern their own action by this rubric; the principle of to each according to his work still must be unswervingly carried out.

To each individual, the building of socialist spiritual civilization should always begin with myself and with the grasping of small matters. The proposal of launching a nationwide demonstration of civilized, courteous behavior jointly issued by the 9 units including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Corps, and the All-China Federation of Women, and the "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" programs also proposed by them, are precisely the practical steps to cause a fundamental change in our urban and countryside social

1960's, the fine moral customs that prevailed among our people were rooted in the relationship of comradely mutual assistance and cooperation, and unity and love between man and man as shaped by the socialist system; they were also energetically promoted and supported by the Party. In the early days after the country's liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly declared: "The day when the Chinese were regarded as uncivilized is over; we shall appear in the world as a nation with an advanced civilization." In 1963, Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou Enlai and other proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation issued the call to learn from Lei Feng, developed learn-from-Lei Feng activities throughout the country, and thus further elevated the moral standards of the people of the whole country. The emergence of the Lei Feng spirit centrally reflected the lofty character and style of the Chinese people as displayed by our socialist state along with its material and cultural development and advancement. During the 10-year period of turmoil, despite the fact that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques turned right and wrong upside down, they were still unable to cover up the brilliance of the Lei Feng spirit or to drain the people of their longing for the Lei Feng spirit. Even while the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were swash-buckling across the country in their insufferably arrogant way, there were among the masses of our people still many with Lei Feng's character and style who withstood the pressure and silently handled things well for the people. Hence, once the Central Work Conference of the Party issued the call for building our socialist spiritual civilization, it immediately received the enthusiastic response from the vast ranks of the masses of the people, and heroic model personalities of the Lei Feng type quickly surged forth.

On the eve of the anti-Japanese war, when some people lamented that "the Chinese have lost their self-confidence," Mr. Lu Xun already profoundly pointed out: "If we want to talk about the Chinese, we must not be deceived by the cosmetic powder applied on the surface which is self-deceiving as well as deceptive; we must look at his muscle and his spine." Those comrades who lament the degeneration of our social customs and have thus lost their self-confidence today should also look at our problems this way. Those bad customs in society are but the layer of powder applied by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques which is liable to cause people to throw up, while persons with the Communist morality and character like Hu Ahu, Gao Yuntao, Tian Jiyao, and Ge Zhenguo alone are representative of the spine of our state and nation. The Lei Feng spirit they have demonstrated by action is precisely the quintessence of our national spirit.

The four sentences in Comrade Zhou Enlai's commemoration of Comrade Lei Feng are a scientific generalization of the Lei Feng spirit; they reflect Lei Feng's genuine outlook, and they are also the important content of our effort to build socialist spiritual civilization. In responding to the call of the provincial Party committee by launching the educational activities throughout the province of "learning from Lei Feng, Establishing a new style, and building socialist spiritual civilization" today, we must love the Party, love our motherland, and love the people like Lei Feng did, and do more good things and make greater contributions to the four modernizations. While facing major changes in the new era, all Party members and cadres must unconditionally maintain a high degree of consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics, actively respond to the call of the Party Central Committee, consciously carry out the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, adhere to the four basic principles, and struggle against the erroneous tendencies toward casting off or weakening the party's leadership and toward bourgeois liberalization; we must serve the people wholeheartedly and benefit others with no thought of ourselves like



customs and moral outlook; the people of our province should all respond to this call. The "five-emphasis" means emphasis on civilization, emphasis on etiquette, emphasis on hygiene, emphasis on order, and emphasis on morality. Through the effort to make the "five-emphasis" prevail, we then reach the "four-beautiful" namely, beautiful soul, beautiful language, beautiful behavior, and beautiful environment. These "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" can all be achieved in general and also should be achieved in general today. When these "five-emphasis" and "four-beautiful" are achieved, new social customs would take shape and would thereby influence people's thinking, character, and sentiments, thus enabling more and more people to govern their own action by Communist ethics.

Our party has always paid attention to the building of spiritual civilization. The Yanan spirit was no other than the noble, rich spiritual life we built at that time. The material living conditions were extremely harsh in the liberated areas in those days; but the Yanan spirit attracted vast ranks of the people, especially youths, to rush toward Yanan and join the anti-Japanese struggle. This Lei Feng spirit was a revolutionary spirit which took shape when we overcame the difficulties of the 3-year period in the early 1960's; at that time, our economic difficulties were far more serious than they are now, yet, by relying on this spirit, the whole Party strictly observed discipline, remained completely selfless, put the interests of others ahead of their own, united the people of the whole country, and achieved the victory in economic readjustment. Today, under the guidance of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party and the people have achieved even greater maturity in the process of overcoming the Leftist line, our socialist system has developed with greater improvement, and our material conditions have also become far better than those of the Yanan period and the 3-year period of difficulties. So long as we insist on grasping our tasks without laxity and enhance the Lei Feng spirit hereafter, our nation is bound to be able to enter the front ranks of the world with the new outlook of a socialist advanced spiritual civilization!

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### EMULATION OF LEI FENG SPIRIT URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Zhao Qi [6392 0796]: "A Brief Discussion of the 'Lei Feng Model' "]

[Text] Some time ago, someone classified the youths of the various periods since the founding of our state into four types; among these was one called the "Lei Feng type," and the appraisal given to this type was rather derogative, e.g., that they "lacked independent thinking," that they "knew only to do what the party told them," etc.

Can we agree with such an appraisal of Lei Feng and the "Lei Feng type" of advanced personalities? Of course not.

Since the heroic story of Comrade Lei Feng was published in the press in 1963, Lei Feng's name was broadcast to all mountains and rivers of the motherland, and it provoked wave after wave of ripples in the depth of the heart ocean of millions. Although Lei Feng did not rush back and forth in a battlefield of firing guns, he was a genuine warrior of the period of socialist construction. Under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation, a surging, fervent tide of learning from Lei Feng arose amidst the ranks of all above and below, male and female, old and young in the country. From the early 1960's to the eve of the "unprecedented" 10-year period, the Lei Feng spirit blossomed into splendid fields of communist flowers in the vast territory of this sacred land, where hundreds and thousands of heroic personalities of the "Lei Feng type" emerged. Such a scene still arouses a nostalgia in us even today.

Was this surge of a big contingent of personalities of the "Lei Feng type" a good thing or a bad thing, after all? Although people's perception of this question went through some wavering, history has ultimately proved: this was a very good thing. Today we want to do our best to promote socialist spiritual civilization; but the Lei Feng spirit and the ideas and morals of the large contingent of heroic models of the "Lei Feng type" have precisely reflected the advanced spiritual civilization of socialism in a concentrated way. The Lei Feng spirit is also a concentrated reflection of communist morals. The growth of a large contingent of the "Lei Feng type" of young personalities had a powerful impact on the old ideas and old morals left from hundreds of years in the past; it was also a great popularization of the socialist new ideas and new morals. Regrettably, during the

10-year period of turmoil the Lei Feng spirit also suffered "unprecedented" trampling. "Uncle Lei Feng" disappeared, whereas personalities of the Chen Abda [7115 7093 1129], Zhang Tiesheng [1728 6993 3932] type were exalted to the sky; this led to a degeneration of morals and a decline of good customs. A task lying before us today is to restore the heroic image of this great communist warrior Comrade Lei Feng.

The view that the "Lei Feng type" of youths "lacked independent thinking" was a distortion of the Lei Feng spirit. Lei Feng said: "I live for wholehearted service to the people and struggle for the cause of liberation of all mankind--communism." "I remember at all times the teaching of Marx: 'Ignorance and incompetence are of no help at any time to anybody, nor will they bring any benefit.' Since I am dedicated to the interests of the people, the interests of the class, and the interests of the revolution, it becomes even more necessary for me to acquire some more talents." What great ambition and what lofty thinking! Behind the five buttons of his military uniform was wrapped up a deep devotion to the cause of socialist construction; and from every one of his deeds which seemed ordinary poured forth his incomparable love for the motherland. This was no other than his profound consideration of life and the future. This consideration always took the interests of the party and the people as its point of departure; can this be called "lacking independent thinking"? Of course not. Thinking about the interests of the people at all times and thinking about the larger, long-range destination of communism: this was precisely the most moving part of the Lei Feng spirit, and this was very fine indeed. Are not those who blame Lei Feng for "lacking independent thinking" themselves illustrating that a considerable distance lies between them and the cause of the people and the moral concepts of communism?

Even more praiseworthy is the fact that this great ambition on Lei Feng's part was not limited to lip service but carried out by him in a down-to-earth way, beginning with immediate, concrete work. His sacred ideals were melted in his daily affairs, and his staunch promises were put into practice bit by bit. Lei Feng compared himself to a screw in a machine. He did with relish what others regarded as small things like "feather garlic skin." Comrade He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037] praised him in his well known long poem "The Song of Lei Feng": "On our omnipotent machine tool, Lei Feng--you are an ordinary, but great--permanently stainless screw!" Although, with being a screw, some people still disagree even today, I am of the opinion that the screw spirit, doing whatever the party tells, was precisely one of the reasons why Lei Feng became Lei Feng. Now we need to greatly promote this concept of "doing whatever the party tells" today!

The Lei Feng spirit was definitely not a "surrealist idealism." The Lei Feng spirit was planted on the socialist economic base of public ownership of the means of production; it was a wonderful flower of communist ideology which blossomed under the watering of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Indeed, in today's realistic life there are still not many persons with the Lei Feng spirit; but we cannot consider it "surrealist" just because of this. We should say that the Lei Feng spirit is something that can be both seen and reached. The Lei Feng spirit is great; but, after efforts are made, through the combination of far sight and immediate undertaking, we can gradually emulate it. If everybody should pay attention only to personal interests and take "complete selflessness and thorough

altruism" as "idealism," and if the great majority of people should also think this way, who is going to realize the ideals of the four modernizations for us?

Fortunately, yesterday's stories have already faded away with yesterday, the tragedies of history have already melted in the pages of history. Countless moving stories which have emerged in our life today indicate that "Uncle Lei Feng" has really returned. A spring wind of learning from Lei Feng is blowing toward us right now. As I write up to this point, I remember once more the words Comrade Xie Juezai [6200 6030 0762] wrote after reading Lei Feng's dairy: "Those who hear about the style of Lei Feng should 'become honest if they were corrupt and acquire determination if they had been timid.'" If we think we are better than "corrupt" and "timid" souls, then, let us collect our spirit and urge ourselves to earnestly learn from Lei Feng!

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CSO: 4005



## **PARTY AND STATE**

### **DISOBEDIENT CADRES CRITICIZED FOR IGNORING CENTRAL INSTRUCTIONS**

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Meng Qingxian [1322 1987 6513]: "Rectify Understanding, Conscientiously Study Central Committee Documents"]

[Text] Democratic centralism is our party's fundamental organizational principle. This principle stipulates that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. The party will tolerate neither acts of violating its political line and organizational principle nor acts that lead to a split in the party, factional activities and assertion of independence from the party or behavior of placing oneself above the party and its collectives. All Communist Party members must unconditionally unify themselves behind the Party Central Committee on the political matters; consciously and firmly implement the line, principles, and policies and resolutions of the party, and observe the laws, decrees and related regulations of the state, whose violation means violation of party discipline. But today, a phenomenon characterized by a lack of organization and discipline still prevails over a few Communist Party members, thus impeding the implementation of the line, principles and policies of the party. Problems as such should be seriously handled and conscientiously solved.

First, attention must be paid to the fact that instead of conscientiously studying and implementing the Party Central Committee documents, some party members have gone over them perfunctorily, and have followed up with no action on them; in the course of study, some have failed to concentrate their efforts on deeply studying the guidelines of the central documents, and instead, they have expressed critical views about the, spread the "speculations," and issued erroneous statements inconsistent with the guidelines of the central documents. This serious wrongdoing is harmful to the unified and centralized system of the party. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee has issued documents and its leading comrades have delivered speeches comprehensively and profoundly summing up our positive and negative experiences in the socialist revolution and construction since the founding of new China in accordance with the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and sophisticatedly analyzing the situation at home and abroad in addition to providing correct answers to many major problems we have encountered while on a march forward. While emphasizing the need to correct the "left" mistakes, these documents also point up ways to overcome other erroneous tendencies that have clearly asserted

themselves in many ways, in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. These are necessary and correct actions which must be conscientiously appreciated and resolutely carried out by us. Of course, different opinions and views that have been expressed for various reasons by some comrades in the ranks of the party with regard to some problems should be permitted and should not be treated as something unusual. But comrades who do so are advised to follow the rules set forth in the Constitution of the party which requires its members to resolutely enforce the resolutions of the Central Committee without expression of any opposition in all their actions. Spreading and taking "speculations" as truth will result in disintegrating the organization of the party and in weakening its fighting strength, and in speeding up the development of the unhealthy trends. For this reason, behavior like that is not tolerated by party discipline.

Second, it must be noted that some party members have been interested in practicing pragmatism in the course of studying and implementing the central documents. Taking a lopsided view of the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the central documents, they have quoted them out of context with the aim of serving their selfish interests. From a position of narrow-minded departmentalism and individualism, they are interested only in enhancing their direct and personal interests at the expense of the overall interests and the long-term interests of the party and state. Is it true that a portion of our population is permitted to become rich ahead of others with the blessing of the Central Committee? This is a typical question asked by some party members and cadres in the countryside who have abandoned their responsibility for the management of the collective economy, and instead, have engaged in speculations that reap exorbitant profits. Some individual party members even have taken the lead in dividing up the public property of the brigades among themselves without authorization, and have taken the lead in converting the commune- and state-owned land and forests into their own property. Does the national economy need further readjustment is another question asked by those party members and cadres who have turned a deaf ear to the unified command, or opposed and resisted orders to "close enterprises that should have been closed or suspend their production, and/or merge with, and transfer their operations to other enterprises." Is it necessary to delegate a greater power of self-determination to enterprises, asked some party members and cadres in the enterprises who have demonstrated the skills of the eight legendary immortals in achieving just that." By means of expanding public relations, they have "purchased" raw materials distributed under the state plan at very low prices, and turned them into a variety of finished products for "exhibition and sale" at high prices. The consequence is that when the raw materials distributed under the state plan were gone, the state has suffered losses in income and tax revenue while the individuals' pockets are filled with money. Conscientious efforts must be made to reverse this trend of distorting the guidelines of the central instructions. Although rural party members are permitted to become rich ahead of others, and although industrial units are encouraged to develop the economy and have more surplus capitals, and therefore, should not be criticized, they are not permitted to act illegally with regard to what purpose they have in mind, and what method and measures would be used to achieve that purpose. Communist Party members must keep the overall interests in mind; particularly when the nation faces temporary difficulties, they must be more willing than ever to

carry forward the heroic spirit of hard struggle and sacrifice displayed by our party during the war, consciously sacrifice personal, temporary and local interests to enhance the revolutionary, long-term and overall interests, "be concerned with the affairs of state before others and enjoy comfort after others," achieve rapport with the Party Central Committee, share burdens with the party and state, share burdens with the masses of people, and dedicate themselves to work with a loyal heart. Those who do not hesitate to risk the danger of undermining the interests of the party and state and the reputation of the party in order to enhance their private interests and are interested in reaping profits at the expense of others' interests are not worthy of being honorably called Communist Party members.

Third, it must be pointed out that some party members unwilling to conscientiously understand the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to thoroughly study the current Party Central Committee documents are leading a life filled with misgivings and apprehension. They have failed to demonstrate courage in the struggle against the erroneous tendencies. They know nothing about the relationships between the continued emancipation of the mind and allegiance to the four basic principles, between the emphasis of the legal system and assertion of democracy, and between the criticism of, and struggle against the erroneous ideas on the one hand and the implementation of the double-hundred policy on the other. As a result, they acquiesce in rather than debate and struggle against those speeches and actions aimed at undermining and endangering the leadership of the party and the socialist system. The emancipation of the mind we have talked about is an effort that is nowhere inconsistent with the advocacy of allegiance to the four basic principles, which is a prerequisite for the emancipation of the mind. Any deviation from the four basic principles will lead to deviation from the correct path toward the emancipation of the mind down a wrong road. In other words, only by thoroughly implementing the principles of emancipating the mind, putting brain to work, seeking truth from facts, studying the new situation, solving the new problems, uniting and looking forward, can we truly uphold the four basic principles and push our cause forward. Our Communist Party members are urged to: 1) repeatedly and thoroughly study the guidelines of the central documents, and achieve a clear understanding of the relationships between the emancipation of the mind and the four allegiances, between the legal system and democracy, and between discipline and freedom; 2) proudly convey to the public and resolutely implement and defend the four basic principles; 3) patiently help some muddle-headed comrades clarify their thinking and improve their ways of thinking, and resolutely resist speeches and actions aimed at undermining the party and the socialist cause. This is a correct attitude that they should adopt.

In short, as new efforts are now being made to further readjust the national economy, and to bring about greater political stability and unity, and as the party and state are confronted with temporary difficulties, all our Communist Party members should rectify their ways of thinking, conscientiously study the central documents, and important speeches by central leading comrades, achieve a clear understanding of their guidelines, strengthen their party character, and raise their political consciousness. They must strictly observe party discipline, firmly unify themselves behind the Party Central Committee on the political matters, tirelessly struggle against all incorrect ideas and misdeeds, and consolidate the unified and centralized system of the party. Only in this way can they lead the masses in striving to accomplish their motherland's great cause of the four modernizations under the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES URGED TO STUDY CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE GUIDELINES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 81 p 1

[News report by XINHUA correspondent Gu Jianpeng (7357 1696 7720) from Ningxia: "Eliminate Leftist Influence; Uphold the Line of the Third Plenary Session"]

[Text] The Ningxia Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has recently organized leading cadres to concentrate attention on studying documents concerning the Central Work Conference, to conscientiously sum up experiences and lessons and to resolutely eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence as a step forward in raising their consciousness of the need to implement the line, principles and policies of the party that have been adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee.

Leading comrades of the prefectural, municipal and county party committees, and the autonomous regional party and mass organizations, and departments of political and legal affairs, propaganda work, and culture and education, who participated in the study, said: Historically, Ningxia has been called "a rich region along the Yellow River." There are abundant water resources coupled with favorable natural conditions along the 600 li long Yin River plain.

The mountainous area to the south is known for its rich natural resources and great potential of increased production. Although great progress has been made in developing the economy since liberation, an overall observation indicates that with the development of agriculture moving at a snail's pace, the hilly areas in south Ningxia remain economically poor and backward. What causes this problem? As a result of an analysis, they maintained that this problem basically resulted from interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of turmoil, and from the pernicious "leftist" influence on our work which lasted many years. They also conducted an analysis of the past problems of agriculture in Ningxia in coordination with actual local conditions, indicating that collectives and commune members are still languishing in poverty because the "leftists" did too much damage to the economy. Many comrades also cited facts to prove that during the 2 years following the downfall of the "gang of four", under the "leftist" influence, Ningxia took some hasty measures for success without taking into account its weak material foundation, economic weaknesses, cultural backwardness and the fact that Ningxia is a minority region, thus suffering economic losses. Ningxia must deeply remember this historical lesson.



In the course of discussion, they fully endorsed the gratifying changes in the situation of Ningxia that have taken place since the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

In order to effectively eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence and further develop the excellent situation in Ningxia, the autonomous regional party committee and comrades participating in the study suggested that the following measures be conscientiously carried out:

I. Cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, must be urged to study well, to further rectify the ideological line, to overcome metaphysics and subjective and one-sided views, and uphold dialectical materialism, and to achieve a clear understanding of the root cause of the "left" tendency and its harmful effect. Only thus can they prevent themselves from committing similar mistakes in the future.

II. Cadres must keep in close touch with reality, strengthen investigations and study; humbly listen to the voice of the masses; deepen their understanding of the historical lessons about the "left"; increase their ability to recognize and resist the "leftist" influence; proceed from reality in the course of implementing the line, principles, and policies of the party. Cadres in the countryside must make further efforts to improve and strengthen the system of responsibility for production in all forms; those serving factories and enterprises must make effective and successful efforts to reorganize their management, while concentrating on broadening the avenue of employment as an effective measure to solve the problem of unemployment.

III. When efforts are being made to eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence, the cadres are urged to seek truth from facts, and launch criticism and self-criticism with the aim of helping themselves and the masses gain experiences and learn lessons, but are dissuaded from turning such occasions into an investigation of any personal responsibility for any wrongdoings. In the course of study, leading cadres must play an exemplary and leading role. All party members must foster a lofty proletarian ideal, conscientiously free themselves from the shackles of the "left" ideology, and truly unify their understanding, speeches and actions behind the line of the Third Plenary Session. Only in this way can they contribute a fair share in developing the four modernizations.

In the course of study, they suggested that the current ideological and political work be effectively strengthened; party committees at all levels strengthen education, and demonstrate professional skills in guiding and helping the broad masses of cadres and people to study and achieve an understanding of the guidelines of the Central Work Conference, firmly implement the line, principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee, firmly uphold the four basic principles, and maintain the political situation of stability and unity. Only in this way can they continue to emancipate their minds, proceed with their work from reality, overcome difficulties, work hard, and achieve better results in work in Ningxia in accordance with the guidelines of the Central Work Conference.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TAPPING TEACHERS' TEACHING, RESEARCH POTENTIALS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by Liu Daoyu (0491 6670 3768), Wuhan University: "Reform is Needed to Tap Potentialities"]

[Text] There are presently over 230,000 teachers in our country's institutions of higher learning. One might say we have a teaching corps that possessed definite quantity and quality. In terms of potentialities, there are indeed definite potentials to be unearthed. But we should also be aware that there exist many flaws in the structure and in the management, employment and salary systems of the teachers. In order to tap the potentials of the teachers, greater reform must be carried out and more flexible policies adopted in order to bring forth generations of talented persons, each one doing his best. In my opinion, we can start with the following areas to test out the reform.

The situation where teachers concentrate their attention on on' - one thing must be changed; an established and strict evaluation system must be implemented where the teachers can teach as well as do research. Before the "Cultural Revolution," there was a fixed proportion of the number of teachers and employees at various types of schools. But during the "Cultural Revolution," almost all of the schools were allowed to develop freely, without the fixed number. As a result, we arrived at a situation where there are "too many teachers and too few students." Although we have a considerable number of teachers now, their work efficiency is low; this is because there is no definite program and no clear cut delineation of job responsibilities or workload. The problem of "too many or too few" teachers is, of course, a relative one and should be analyzed in concrete terms. And because our teaching corps differs from teachers in other countries, we cannot oversimplify our problem by using the proportion of teachers and students as an illustration of whether there are too many or too few teachers.

Key universities should be teaching centers as well as research centers must be established in order to produce both talented persons and research achievements. The proposal of "two centers" is a metaphor for the two basic duties of key universities to provide teaching and research. This idea not only draws on the operating experiences of well-known universities abroad, it also reflects the characteristics of contemporary education and the development of scientific research. Furthermore, it is in consonance with the need of the four modernizations to produce both talented persons and research achievements. Therefore, I am in complete agreement with this proposal. Since key universities must establish

two centers, the teachers should move toward the direction of combined teaching with research. In our visit to France, we learned that in French universities, there are no distinctions between those who teach and those who do research. The department in charge of universities in the French Ministry of Education claimed in its introduction that "teaching is the bounden duty of the teacher and research the key to his promotion." In French universities, there are no teachers who do not do research, nor are there any researchers who do not teach." In our country at the present time, however, the union is not so complete in most of the schools; teaching and research are still "two different skins." This affects not only the development of the role of teachers, it is an obstacle in upgrading the quality of teaching as well as the standards of the teachers.

How can we guarantee that the teachers will develop in the direction of combined teaching and research? This guarantee must be based on a system which encourages competition. In the long run, all those who teach as well as do research can be promoted on the basis of their teaching positions—all the way to assistant professorship, and to professorship. Those who only teach but do no research cannot be promoted to assistant professorship or professorship; the highest position they may reach is that of senior lecturer. Those who do only research but do not teach may be promoted only on the basis of their research positions and cannot be promoted to assistant professorship or professorship. In adopting this method, we must separately delineate the teaching and research workloads, and at the same time must also draw up the corresponding measures for ensuring the quality of teaching. In actual practice, of course, there will be special circumstances and exceptions may be made accordingly. And in order to maintain relative stability between teaching and research, teachers may suggest certain overlap in work, based on the teaching and research program drawn up.

In order to guarantee that teachers can both teach and do research, there must yet be a strict evaluation system to establish the "rigorous scholarly research" type of atmosphere. The teaching attitude, teaching methods, teaching results, level of compiled teaching materials, improved experimentations, facilities and research achievements must all be entered into the evaluation records. All these results must be based on objective evaluation and not be filled out as one wishes. These evaluations will then be the basis for promotions.

We should gradually change the system of assigning teachers, set forth a trial teaching period and permit hiring based on qualifications. Nowadays, the main source of teachers for institutes of higher learning comes from assignment. Once a teacher has been assigned to a school, he must undertake the job and, in most cases, stay for life. This limits the possibility for selection of talented persons and slows the process of the new replacing the old within the teaching corps. In order to change this situation, we must carry out flexible policies, permitting the appropriate flow of talents and maintaining a definite degree of competition. Naturally there will be a lot of problems in the process of reform and they must be handled properly. We can take the following steps. We can set a trial period for teaching assistants; should he show promise, he should be officially retained for inclusion in the program. If he should prove unsuited for teaching or research, he can be assigned more appropriate work through the school's personnel department. We can temporarily set the trial period for 1 year. Then, we can try selecting teachers according to the evaluation records. The selection system has many advantages. First, it can maintain and stabilize a cadre of teaching and research

personnel so the university can operate at its best. Secondly, it encourages teachers to be ambitious, to break the traditional "once assigned, so be it for life" and the "iron rice bowl" types of mentality. This will hasten the replacement of the old with the new within the teaching corps and maintain the vitality of youth. More importantly, through this we can hope for new groups of talented and outstanding persons to constantly fill the ranks of the teaching corps. The few teachers who are not suited for teaching or research should be transferred to more appropriate positions so that each can do his best and everyone is in his proper place.

We should change the situation where everyone "eats from the same pot of rice" by encouraging the teachers, through economic measures, to take on more teaching duties and to produce more research results. In the schools now there are quite a few teachers without sufficient workload, yet arrangements are often difficult to make. As a result, there still exist cases where one course is being taught by many teachers. This is a result of "eating from the same pot of rice." In the educational front how can we change the situation where "it's the same whether you do more or less, whether you do well or not"? First, we must strengthen the ideological work, mobilize the teachers' enthusiasm and develop the mentality to be of service to the four modernizations. Then, we must amend the present unreasonable salary system. Here, we suggest a trial method of base salary plus supplement work pay. Each faculty or staff will be salaried according to the different categories. Then, based on the amount of work completed, each shall be given additional pay. This will encourage teachers to take on more courses, have more laboratory sessions, more tutorials and produce more results. The more responsibilities one takes on, the higher the pay. For those who do not take on teaching and research, they can at most take home their base salary. This will gradually resolve the problem of "eating from the same pot of rice," and we will truly have accomplished "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### FOREIGN TOUR INSPIRES THOUGHTS ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Longxiang [1728 7893 5046] of Beijing University and Zhang Wei [1728 4850] of Qinhua University: "Suggestions on How To Turn Key Universities Into Educational Centers and Scientific Research Centers"]

[Text] 1

The Chinese Delegation of Education toured West Germany, France and the United States last May and June. During the tour, we visited 28 institutions of higher education, including a number of world-famous first-rate universities. On our way home, we also stopped in Japan to visit the Tokyo University. The impression that stood out the most in our minds was that all the famous universities of these countries are centers both for education and for scientific research, charged with the dual responsibility of training top-notch students and developing science and technology. All of them share the following features:

(1) The universities are traditionally academic centers both for education and for developing science. When Wilhelm von Humboldt founded the University of Berlin in 1810, he proclaimed the principle of "integrating scientific research with teaching." The universities are not content with just disseminating knowledge. They teach the students how to do scientific research and encourage their active participation in research projects. Thus a tradition has formed around the principle of "teaching through research," which is indeed an effective way of training highly competent young scholars. West Germany, in rebuilding its universities in the years immediately following World War II and in wholeheartedly developing its higher education in the past 20 years, has tried to keep the "von Humboldt tradition" alive.

Such famous institutions as the Central College of Science and Engineering, Teachers' College, University of Southern Paris in France and Harvard University, Yale University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States also operate on the same principle, where scientific research receives equal, or even greater attention than classroom instruction. Among the larger state universities, the State University of California (Berkeley) enrolls more than 20,000 undergraduate and more than 8,400 post-graduate students. It has achieved worldwide fame for its basic scientific research. It is also noted for its work in the field of nuclear science, the discovery of several new chemical elements, and its research in the fields of seismology, virology, hormones, and photosynthesis. It has more than 10 Nobel Prize winners on its faculty. Its Lawrence Laboratory, supported by the U.S.

Department of Energy, is very large. It has a staff of 3,000 devoted to the research and development of atomic energy. Among the private schools, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is well-known for its research effort. It enrolls 4,600 undergraduates and 4,000 post-graduates. It has a faculty of 1,732 including 317 full professors and 419 associate professors and professors' assistants). It also employs 650 full-time scientific researchers. This institute boasts five Nobel Prize winners on its faculty. In 1978, it produced 934 masters of science, 108 masters of engineering, and 425 Ph.Ds. In the 1977-78 academic year, it had a budget of U.S. \$320 million, of which 220 million went into scientific research. Its Lincoln Laboratory is noted for its research into military electronics. It has an independent staff and budget for its research related to space communications, space traffic control, radar and solid-state instruments. The laboratory itself hires more than 900 people, and in the 1977-78 academic year it had a research budget of U.S. \$100 million.

(2) In West Germany, France and the United States, schools of higher education, particularly the first-rate universities, receive a large number of government scientific research assignments related to natural sciences, technological sciences, social sciences and even humanities.

The Scientific Research Association of West Germany, which receives its funding from both federal and state governments, (770 million marks in 1979) earmarks 90 percent of its funds as grants to schools to help with their research projects. The Lathe Research Institute of Ulmland Advanced College of Industry has conducted basic research on lathe design and metal cutting problems for several decades. Its work has enabled the machine-building industry of West Germany to gain a strong competitive edge in the world market and to earn some 40 billion marks in foreign exchange in the years following World War II. This Lathe Research Institute turns out from 15 to 20 doctors of engineering a year. Thus it is fulfilling the dual purpose of conducting advanced research and training top-notch personnel.

The total 1979 expenditure on research and development purposes in the United States broke down as follows: Industries and enterprises spent \$36 billion; laboratories of the federal government \$6.9 billion; universities and university-run laboratories \$6.2 billion; and non-profit research institutes \$1.3 billion. The universities are the backbone of basic research. Of the total of \$6 billion spent in the United States on basic research in 1978, \$3.6 billion, or 60 percent of the total, went to universities and university-run laboratories.

Under the National Center for Scientific Research in France, there are 1,135 research units, of which 819 are located on university campuses and operated under the auspices of the host universities. According to Sonia Sete, the minister of university education, most of the credit for research breakthroughs belongs to French universities.

(3) As universities are devoted to the study of a wide spectrum of human knowledge, research centers and laboratories are set up at the universities to explore new areas of study that cut across the boundaries of administrative departments and scholastic disciplines. In West Germany, France and the United States, many well-known universities have, over the past 2 decades, set up such types of scientific research centers. The most remarkable example can be found at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where 45 scientific research centers and laboratories of

that nature exist, such as the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, the Biological and Medical Engineering Center, the Material Science and Engineering Center, the Space Science Research Center, Computer Science Laboratory, Atomic and Nuclear Science Laboratory, Energy Resources Laboratory and Energy Policy Research Center. Many of today's scientific and technological issues touch more than one area of study. Multi-purpose research centers have access to the expertise of professors, post-graduate and under-graduate students of different departments at a university working on projects of common interest, thus putting the resources of a university to the best use.

(4) In West Germany, France and the United States, the first-rate universities all receive large government grants. They also operate large-size laboratories for their governments, conducting both basic and applied research in areas of major economic and national defense concern. The United States sets a remarkable example in this kind of operation. Its Department of Energy, Department of Defense, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration have a total of 20 government laboratories on university campuses. These laboratories have their own staff and budget and are engaged in the most advanced research projects of the world. For instance, the Lincoln Laboratory which was mentioned earlier in this article is on the MIT campus. It is supported by the Department of Defense. The Argon National Laboratory, supported by the Department of Energy, is on the campus of the Chicago University. The Lawrence Radioactivity Laboratory and Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory are on the campus of the University of California. They are centers for atomic energy research. There are other famous laboratories supported by the Department of Energy, such as the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Fermi Accelerator National Center and (Brock Hyven) National Laboratory. They are jointly operated by several universities to conduct common research projects. The Jet Propeller Laboratory financed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has its seat at the California Technical College. It employs 4,000 people doing research on jet propulsion technology and space navigation. Among its credits is the research work connected with the probes of Planet Jupiter by Voyagers 1 and 2 in 1979.

While tradition has something to do with it, it is the great importance attached to education that makes the above-mentioned achievement possible. Education, particularly higher education, and the development of human resources are now assuming a greater and greater importance in the economic development and in the political and defense posture of a nation. There is a general awareness of this importance among the governments of the countries we visited. There is a saying in West Germany: "An educational crisis is a sign of an oncoming economic crisis." A West German vice minister has written a book entitled "Education Is Not a Luxury." There is also a call in the United States for the development of intellectual resources. These countries regard the training of top-notch scientists and engineers as a task of great strategic importance and consider institutes of higher learning as the backbone of the national structure for scientific development. The government organizes, motivates, supervises and equips a number of key universities as centers capable of turning out first-rate personnel and undertaking important scientific research projects. Some nations have even written such goals into their law. For instance, the "Statute of Higher Education" passed by the West German parliament stipulates: "The institutions of higher education are responsible for developing science and arts through research and instruction. They must teach their students how to apply their scientific knowledge and scientific methods or to develop in them a creative ability for arts."



The key to the four modernizations in our country lies in scientific and technological modernization. The decade of catastrophe has widened the gap between the scientific and technological achievement in our country and that of advanced nations. The gap is all the more fundamental in the number and quality of the scientific and technological work force. A small work force will slow down scientific and technological development. Low quality of the work force will lead to a low level in the scientific and technological modernization. If we had a large and highly competent scientific, technological and management force, we would be in a far better position to accomplish the four modernizations. West Germany and Japan were the defeated nations of World War II, yet in only 20 years they have not only recovered from the ravages of the war but also gone on to become economic powers of the world. The fundamental reason is that they have always attached great importance to education and to the training of experts of an advanced level. West German Minister of Education and Science Schmude, said: "We are poor in natural resources. Human intelligence is our best resource." West Germany had 946,000 college students in 1978, 3.25 times more than in 1960. West Germany spent 14.6 billion marks on higher education in 1978, representing 22.7 percent of total educational expenditure and 1.14 percent of the GNP of that year. This outlay for higher education was 8.6 times more than in 1961.

The progress toward the four modernizations imposes the necessity on the institutions of higher education to produce a mighty scientific, technological and management force. The key universities are to produce the backbone of such a force. In other words, they are to produce a large number of young people with skills comparable to the best of college graduates and Ph.D.'s of the world. This means that our undergraduate and post-graduate students must be instructed in the most advanced scientific knowledge and be involved in advanced scientific research. It means our college professors and other faculty members must take up command posts in the van of the scientific and technological front in the process of getting to know and then reforming our world. Only thus can our students learn the latest and the most advanced in human knowledge. This is the reason why our key universities must engage in both instruction and scientific research and serve as a center for both education and scientific research.

Are our key universities capable of serving as a center for both education and scientific research?

We see the following favorable conditions in our key universities:

(1) There Is a High Concentration of Professors and Associate Professors

Historically the universities in Europe and America have always been the citadels of scientific research. The research forces and famous scholars in European and American countries have always operated out of universities. Academic centers and famous universities are usually synonyms. Though some countries, such as West Germany and France, have started up some fair-sized research institutes independent of institutions of higher education after World War II, the main force of the research corps and the best of the researchers have remained on the payroll of the famous universities. The U.S. Academy of Sciences does not have research facilities at the famous universities. In Europe and America, the universities have always



been the vanguard of scientific research. For example, Albert Einstein started and completed his research culminating in the publication of his theory of relativity while he was a professor first at the Zurich Institute of Advanced Engineering in Switzerland and then at the Berlin University in Germany. Max Planck also began his research on and then published his quantum theory while teaching at the Berlin University. When we were visiting West Germany, we were introduced to a number of advanced research projects underway in several universities. When we were visiting Yale University, we witnessed the observations of the metabolism of brain cells of large white rats by students of the Molecular Biology Department with nuclear magnetic resonance recorders. We were told that with the arrival of larger equipment in 2 or 3 years, observations and analysis of the metabolism of human brain cells could be made. This would no doubt turn a new page in biological and medical studies. The Wisconsin University was making experiments on plant biology in climatrons. Such work would no doubt have great theoretical and practical significance. The Umland Advanced College of Industry in West Germany was conducting research on the automation of lathe operation and metal cutting, a research that was the most advanced in its field in the world. In our country, the leading comrades in the Party Central Committee have always been anxious to see our institutions of higher education play a larger role in scientific research. In 1956, Premier Zhou Enlai urged a larger role in scientific research for our institutions of higher education when he spoke on the subject of the role of our intellectuals. In 1959, Comrade Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271], as the then chairman of the National Commission of Science, asserted that the institutions of higher education formed one column of the scientific research army. In 1977, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping reemphasized the role of the institutions of higher education as the backbone of the scientific research force. He also suggested that the key universities should serve as a center for both education and for scientific research.

As a matter of fact, the research personnel on the faculty of our institutions of higher education have always accounted for over half of our national research corps. According to incomplete statistics, there are 11,200 professors and associate professors on the faculty of our institutions of higher education all told. Let us assume that most of them are engaged in teaching, at least one-fourth of them, or 2,800 professors and associate professors, are engaged in full-time research assignments. There are 4,033 professors and associate professors on the payroll on the 26 key universities directly subordinate to the Ministry of Education. At least one-third of them, or 1,344 in number, devote their full time to scientific research. While in the Chinese Academy of Sciences system, there are only approximately 1,550 researchers and associate researchers. The above numbers indicate that the research manpower connected with our institutions of higher education is a major component of our scientific research corps.

## (2) There Is Good Coordination Among Various Scientific Disciplines

The obvious trend of recent scientific and technological development is toward coordinated studies cutting across the boundaries of any single scientific discipline. These studies involve not only coordination between natural and technological sciences but also coordination among natural, technological and social sciences. Earlier in this article we mentioned that there are 45 research centers and laboratories that involve multi-departmental efforts at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Plans are afoot at the MIT to organize these multi-departmental facilities into a new type of college. For example, a Public Health Science, Technology and Management College was set up in 1977. Under consideration is a new Science, Technology and Human Society College.

Under the jurisdiction of any institution of higher education, there are usually departments devoted to the studies of both natural and social sciences and of both basic and technological sciences. Such a setup facilitates inter-departmental explorations and consultations as well as coordinated studies of more than one scientific discipline. Most of the specialized research institutes do not have such multi-departmental setup. The institutions of higher education in our country are also organizationally suited for multi-departmental undertakings. Our key universities, in particular, have a high concentration of experts trained in various scientific disciplines. These experts are capable of taking on multi-departmental projects in the solution of major scientific and technological problems that touch more than one scientific discipline, the development of marginal scientific pursuits and new technology, and the exploration of new territories where natural and social sciences both have a claim, projects that are in keeping with our national needs and the trend in scientific development.

### (3) There Is a Need for Combining Instruction and Scientific Research

Teaching and scientific research must go hand in hand at our institutions of higher education. There must be a large number of young undergraduate and post-graduate students engaged in scientific research. Young people have quick thinking and an innovative spirit. When they team up with their professors, both the students and their professors will benefit greatly from their close cooperation. This arrangement will help the students to grow up into a new generation of competent scientists. It will also help the professors to improve their quality of instruction and their grasp of the latest scientific development. With the constant injection of new blood into the ranks of our scientists, there will be a healthy turnover in our scientist corps to prevent it from getting old and rusty. Student-professor cooperation is one advantage of the institutions of higher education that is lacking at the independent research institutes.

The Rockefeller Medical Research Institute in New York has been well-known throughout the world for its outstanding achievement. It produced several Nobel prize winners in the mid-1950's. In 1965, it ceased to exist as a research institute and became the Rockefeller University in order to enroll graduate students. The reason behind this reorganization was a determination to keep the scientists from "aging" and to bring in "fresh minds."

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As to how to give our institutions of higher education a larger role in our scientific endeavors and how to turn them into seats of both education and scientific research, we venture to make the following suggestions:

(1) We must bring the institutions of higher education to the front ranks of science. We can select a number of well-endowed key universities, upgrade them to the level comparable to the first-rate universities of the world, enlarge their post-graduate enrollments, and demand of them that they produce researchers with credentials comparable to scholars with Ph.D. degrees overseas. We must make allowances in our national economic planning and our scientific and technological planning so that these key universities can get all the support they need and can make the best of what they have in order to quickly become the seats for both education and scientific research. We must also turn them into showcases so as to improve the quality of our higher education overall. We must attach extreme importance to this strategic undertaking and persevere in its course.

(2) The question of where the funds for scientific research conducted at our institutions of higher education should come from has remained unresolved for many years. The subsidies provided by the National Commission for Science have been the mainstay of such funds. We all know that scientific research needs money. The laboratory equipment at all our institutions of higher education is old and obsolete. It is an obstacle to the training of highly competent scientists and technicians and to the conduct of important research projects. In West Germany, France and the United States, professors receive grants from various foundations. The universities also have assured sources of research money. We propose that a budget be set up under the educational funds to cover scientific research, the size of the budget to correspond to the number of professors and associate professors at our institutions of higher education, at a per-head rate as now applies to the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The budget is to be adjusted to the increases in the total value of industrial and agricultural production, so that corresponding increases will show in the annual budgets.

(3) The establishment of research organizations at the institutions of higher education requires a minimum of investment yet promises a maximum in returns. The investment is low in the sense that the money will pay for laboratory instruments and big equipment useful both in teaching and in scientific research, and pay for manpower employed both for teaching and for scientific research. The payoffs are great in the sense that the conduct of research projects and the training of scientists are accomplished at the same time. We suggest that our institutions of higher education should receive first consideration as the seat of any new research organizations to be set up to study new scientific and technological problems or to develop new concepts necessary for the realization of the four modernizations as called for by the national overall planning.

(4) We suggest personnel exchange and academic cooperation be strengthened among the Chinese Academy of Sciences, research organizations under industrial departments, and institutions of higher education.

As far as personnel exchange is concerned, we suggest that faculty members of our institutions of higher education, researchers of the Academy of Sciences, and technicians of industrial departments be allowed to work part-time in all three types of places or to take regular leaves of absence from their own work desks to work in the other two types of places. As far as academic cooperation is concerned, all three types of organizations may jointly work on the same projects or join forces in the training of research students. We suggest that a start be made in Beijing and Shanghai, where the institutions of higher education and the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences are concentrated. We suggest that some guidelines be set up to introduce personnel exchange and academic cooperation between the educational and research systems.

(5) We hope that the National People's Congress will pass a Statute on Higher Education at an early date.

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## **SOIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE**

### **IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF CADRES STRESSED**

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 18 Feb 81 p 2

[Article by Zhang Jiangming [1728 3068 2494]: "Doing a Good Job of Cadre Education is a Guarantee for Building the Four Modernizations"]

[Excerpts] In our building of the four modernizations, we must be like all other countries in the world in developing production--there must not be only an economic investment, but also an investment of intellect. Doing a good job of cadre education and doing a good job of theoretical study are methods of developing intellect that are economical and produce substantial results. In the past, under the influence of the thinking of the "left," scientific and technical education was not considered to be a productive force, and no importance was placed on an investment of intellect. This caused the education of cadres and scientific and technical study on the part of workers and staff to be steadily weakened. The result was that the scope of education became smaller and smaller, and by the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution" it was damaged even further, creating a situation in which the professional, technical, and managerial level of a number of cadres was unable to answer the needs of the construction of modernization.

Under the present situation, centered around the readjustment of the national economy, the problem of the first importance for strengthening cadre education and the investment of intellect is the serious proportional imbalances involved in adjusting the national economy, including the proportional imbalance between the development of national economic adjustment and the development of education, science, and culture. Thus, everything possible must be done to enable the enterprises of education and science (including the education of cadres) to continue to develop within the readjustment, and also to solve the problem of "stressing theory and despising culture." At present, on the one hand we must absorb into the leading bodies a number of young, promising cadres who possess both virtue and talent, are professionally qualified, and are specialists in theory; and on the other hand we must augment the training of our cadres and heighten their political-theoretical, scientific-cultural, professional, technical, and managerial capabilities, in order to do a better job of economic adjustment and prepare the conditions for later economic development. Cadre education must be centered on the guiding principles of our economic adjustment and stability, and a regular system for cadre education must gradually be set up.



We hope that our leadership will attach importance to this and will assign the requisite amount of human, material, and financial resources needed to do a good job of this "investment of intellect."

In building the four modernizations, we must first reform the people; in reforming the people, we must reform the leadership.

If we are to realize the four modernizations, we must first work toward getting the people to have an accurate ideology centered on the goal of the four modernizations, so that they will make sacrifices for them. Leading cadres are the servants of the people, and they are guides for the masses and the main stay of the construction of socialism, and this is what they should be first and foremost. The ideology of cadres, especially of leading cadres is very much in line with socialist modernization, and their level of political theory is very closely connected with the work of the party and with the realization of the four modernizations. Even higher demands should be made on leading cadres.

What exactly do this "first reforming the people" and this "first reforming the leadership" that we speak of here entail? They entail the four modernizations of cadres as pointed out by the Party Central Committee: they must be younger, better educated, more professional, and more revolutionary. We must enable the broad masses of cadres to be skilled in political theory and science, to understand management and administration, and be professionally and technically qualified (ideological political work is also a science and a profession). Regardless of whether they are new or old cadres, cadres of all lines and professions must revolutionize their thinking, use revolutionary theory as their guide, have lofty revolutionary ideals, be inspired with a revolutionary spirit, firmly adhere to the four basic principles, and struggle unceasingly for the work of the four modernizations.

In "reforming the leadership" according to this kind of program, a very important aspect is to step up the education of cadres and get a good hold on the party's line, programs, and policies and on revolutionary theory. At present the important task of theoretical study by cadres is that they must conscientiously get a good grasp of communications and study the discussions in the articles emanating from the Central Committee's Work Conference and, after studying them, to bring the ideology of the broad masses of cadres, and of the masses, into line with the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, thus further guaranteeing the successful readjustment of our economy as well as our political stability and unity.

Marxist economics is the science of the rules of economic development,

In educating cadres, aside from first of all getting a good hold on studying the spirit of the Central Committee's work Conference, we must fundamentally eliminate the pernicious influence of the tendency of the "left" and unify the ideology of the cadres. The most important paths to this are stepping up theoretical study by cadres, instilling a thoroughly materialist spirit, recognizing the rules of economic development, using Marxist standpoints, concepts, and methods to analyze problems, raising the cadres' ideological awareness and theoretical level, and avoiding wavering from "left" to right. Some comrades do not feel

interested in studying theory, thinking there is not much use to it, or even that the more one studies, the greater one's errors may become. This shows the negative influence and erroneous understanding of theory after the serious damage and changes wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Marx and Lenin many times criticized the error of thinking lightly of theory, and they emphasized the important impact of theory on revolutionary work. Organizing the broad masses of cadres to study the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is the most important guarantee for realizing the four modernizations and the most important requisite for doing good leadership work.

The content of the theoretical study by cadres, generally speaking, is the study of the three components of Marxism; all cadres who are adept at studying theory should study Marxist philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism. In order to fit in with the readjustment of our national economy and with the building of the four modernizations, we must first of all study Marxist economic theory, which will enable us to recognize and grasp the laws of economics and will guide the building of socialist modernization along the correct path. If we did not have Marxist economic theory as our guide, there would be a lot of blindness in our actions and we would go contrary to the laws of economics, resulting in great losses. On the basis of the actual conditions in our country, in studying economic theory for the modern period we must place importance on studying Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Dealing Correctly With Internal Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Chen Yun's [7115 0061] articles on economic work, Comrade Xue Mugao's [5641 2350 2890] "Study of the Question of the Chinese Socialist Economy," and the Marxist theory of reproduction; integrate the [experience of the] errors that existed for a long time in our country's economic work, errors that finally became the main body of "leftist" thought; conscientiously sum up the experiences and lessons we have learned; further eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left" tendency; and combine Marxist economic theory and the practice of our country's four modernizations so as to guide the readjustment of our economy and do a good job of the four modernizations.

The method of theoretical study by cadres should be based upon the new situation and should be appropriate to engaging in revolution. We must overcome formalism, be attentive to actual results, and adopt flexible techniques to captivate the people's interest. We must do painstaking ideological work, heighten self-conscious study, emphasize the central importance of self-study, liberate our thinking, think things over independently, get a grasp of the central issues, improve ourselves through study in a planned way, and conduct appropriate organizational discussions and guidance. We can also adopt the methods of allowing some time for operating study classes and regular education programs in order to enable our study to yield better results.

9634

CSO: 4003

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

### IMPORTANCE OF REFINED, CIVILIZED LANGUAGE EMPHASIZED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "We Must Have Beautiful Language"]

[Text] In launching the activity of the "five criticisms" and the "four beautifuls" and building a civilization that is socialist in spirit, one of the elements is advocating beauty in our language. Some people cannot comprehend why we want to place so much importance on the beauty of language.

A beautiful language is part of the essential content of a civilization that is socialist in spirit. People live in society and cannot help but speak together, so that language has become one of the tools of social intercourse. "Words are the sounds of the heart." A person's thinking, spirit, feelings, inclinations, likes and dislikes, and so forth must generally all pass through the medium of language before they can be expressed. For this reason, language is also limited by the world view, morals, and spirit of those using it, so there is a distinction between what is civilized and what is savage, and between what is beautiful and what is ugly. Frequently, people also take language to be a concrete measure of the height of a person's ideological awareness or the goodness or badness of his spiritual aspects. It is very difficult to imagine a straightforward, good-natured, good person with a mouthful of dirty oaths, or a person who takes pleasure in helping others using bad words to hurt others. Here we are speaking only of its small-scale, immediate scope. From a somewhat broader aspect, the presence or absence of courtesy in a language also reflects the degree of spiritual civilization of a nation or a people. Courteous, enthusiastic, beautiful languages generally leave strangers from foreign countries with a pleased, strong, beautiful impression, thus increasing their respect for that nation and people. From ancient times until the present our China has been considered worthy of being called a courteous nation. Great importance has always been placed on a person's behavior and manner of speaking, and whether or not language is elegant has been one of the standards of esthetics. This virtue is precisely the reflection of the excellence of our Chinese national character.

Language is the product of the life of society, and it develops in the wake of society's development. Under our socialist system, a strong, beautiful language can coordinate and harmonize relations among people. People must open up new

lines of communication every day. Relations among people--including those between superiors and inferiors, between comrades, between cadres and the masses, between teachers and students, between shop employees and customers--must all pass through the medium of language in their contacts and exchanges. Especially today, when all of us are advancing steadily with one mind toward the goal of building the four modernizations, it is necessary for everyone to be of one heart and one mind. And for everyone to be of one heart and one mind, the most important thing is for relations between people to be extremely close and harmonious. We are recommending beauty in our language and the creation of an excellent linguistic environment, for if everyone manages to speak courteously and treat people in a civilized way, unnecessary suspicions, conflicts, and friction can be greatly reduced. If everyone feels at ease and we have a good social environment, then it will help us, in an atmosphere of stability and unity, to concentrate our forces on building the four modernizations.

This taking of beauty in language as part of the important content of launching a movement toward greater civilization and courtesy is highly practical and very much to the point. Due to the 10 years of rampage, the morals and general mood of society declined, and for a long time our verbal traditions of gentleness, elegance, and humility were virtually destroyed. During these months and years of great reversal of beautiful and ugly, of honor and disgrace, coarse and dirty words were fashionable, the use of strong language to win arguments and bad words to hurt people became points of honor, and verbal abuse became our daily fare. This depraved atmosphere badly influenced and poisoned some people, especially young people. Even today in our lives, crude, vulgar, and vehement words are still heard. There are some who, "habit having become nature," speak dirty words without even knowing that their speech is dirty; this phenomenon is criticized as the "corruption of language." This situation urgently requires all of society to mobilize itself and take the beauty of our language to be a concrete requirement of public morality and spiritual civilization, and to be more in favor of it.

In that case, just what must be emphasized now in order to bring about the beautification of language? We consider that first of all we should accomplish the following:

1. We must create a social climate in which it is a point of honor to be "gentle, refined, and humble," and resolutely get rid of crude, rough, barbaric, uncivilized practices; be careful not to speak coarsely or use dirty words; use and spread the use of courteous language; and create an atmosphere of urging and guiding each other.

2. We must be steadfast in speaking logically and in using logic to persuade others. When we encounter disputes and friction, we must courteously yield to each other, forgive others, and find many opportunities for self-criticism. We must not insist that we are in the right, revile and strike others, or resort to violence. Even when in the right, we still must not, being in the right, fail to yield to others, but it is recommended that, even in the right, we yield to others. And if we are in the wrong, then we must apologize. We cannot use strong words to win an argument by force or wilfully cause trouble.



3. We must respect others, respect others' personalities, treat people with an attitude of equality and humility, and not wound others' sense of self-respect. We must understand that the use of bad words for amusement or for reviling or slandering others is not permitted, either by morality or by law and discipline.

Being in favor of civilized language does not mean that we want people to write superficial literature, flatter and fawn over each other, or use empty courtesies and formalities. We are in favor of being true and sincere, with outer appearances and the inner nature as one, and with actions matching our words. We must be "sincere on the inside and attend to correct appearances on the outside." Only if we succeed in being "sincere on the inside"--that is, have a correct world view planted in our heart and have a good moral education, everywhere considering the advantage of others as being important--can we consciously have "a correct appearance on the outside" and spontaneously speak with courteous, civilized language. If everyone does this, then a good social climate will be enjoyed by all of society.

Here we must especially point out that the influencing or corrupting effect of language is very great. In order to enable our young people (including children and preschool children) to be more fastidious about the beauty of their language, old people and grownups must serve as good examples. In particular, cadres, teachers, performers, people's police, medical service personnel, shop employees, service personnel, as well as heads of families must serve as examples, using their own civilized language as a model and an example for young people. We believe that if people are mobilized on a sufficiently broad scale, begin with themselves and begin now, and persevere effectively, our ancestral nation will definitely manifest a brand new beauty in language, clearly displaying our country's noble, spiritual civilization of the people!

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### HONG KONG PAPER ON CONTROVERSY OVER JIANG QING VERDICT

Hong Kong CHENG MING (CONTENDING) in Chinese No 40, 1 Feb 81 pp 22-24

[Article by Li Mingfa (2621 2497 4099): "High-Level Controversy in the Chinese Communist Party Over the Verdict on Jiang Qing"]

[Text] The trial of Jiang Qing and the other nine, which has attracted world attention, has not yet ended at the time this is written. This trial was decided on by the 16th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress on 29 September 1980. The court formally began its session on 20 November, and, according to the original plan, the trial should have been over in a month. However, because of repeated interruptions and waste of time, the trial, which should have been able to proceed smoothly, became a protracted affair, and whether or not Jiang Qing should be given the death sentence became a topic of heated discussion. The CCP leaders were divided into two groups, and the extensive confrontation between those favoring and those opposing the death sentence have given the general impression that the system of government by law, respect for the law, and "law above the party" as trumpeted by the CCP were merely for show. I was in Beijing and personally saw how the people were disgusted with the proceedings of the trial. Some of them even called it a "stage-managed affair." Why have there been so many twists and turns in the course of the trial to upset the original plan?

#### The Party Central Committee's Secret Poll on the Trial

Jiang Qing's attitude was undoubtedly one of the causes, but more important still was the deadlock between the two groups within the upper levels of the party.

Chen Yun (7115 0061) was the leader of the group opposing the immediate execution of Jiang Qing. Since he is well-known for being practical, his opinion should be respected.

Deng Xiaoping was originally quite firm on Jiang Qing's death, but he gradually changed his mind.

Despite the change in Deng Xiaoping's attitude, the group favoring her execution is still very strong. Thus, with the controversy going on, a final "unanimous decision" is still impossible.

According to the opinion of my friends and relatives in Beijing as well as the reaction of city residents as shown by what was heard in streetcars, buses, restaurants and on the street, everyone hates Jiang Qing so bitterly that if she is not executed, there will appear to be no justice in the world. Yet among these people, some are against simple execution by firing squad; others have proposed that Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan be put in a cage and placed in Tiananmen as an exhibit, so that people can spit at them. Still others want her to die of 10,000 cuts, or be paraded on a wooden donkey through the streets like an adulteress of feudal times being punished for the crime of murdering her husband. All this shows the genuine hatred of Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao. This hatred cannot be assuaged by a bullet through Jiang Qing's body, because they want to see her die a slow, lingering death. This strong hatred is entirely the result of the extremely brutal persecution of innocent people by the "gang of four."

These strong feelings among the people cannot and should not be ignored. If the special court does not sentence Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao to death and actually carry out their execution, it will naturally be a grievous disappointment to people throughout the country, and their confidence in the spirit of law being stressed by the party Central Committee will be severely shaken. Far from a matter of assuaging the people's anger, this is a cardinal issue of respect for the law. If the party Central Committee should infringe on the jurisdiction of the independent judiciary out of consideration for the fact that Jiang Qing is after all the widow of Chairman Mao, it would be a violation of the very principle behind the trial.

In the last 10 days of December, while I was in Beijing, a democratic personage of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was heard to say: "It seems quite possible that Jiang Qing will be given the death sentence with a reprieve, although nearly 100 percent of the National Committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference favor her execution and oppose any reprieve." He added that in passing sentence on the "gang of four," the Central Committee secretly solicited opinions from various quarters in addition to nothing the reactions of the CPPCC members.

The special court finally concluded the debate on Jiang Qing on 29 December, and the prosecutor once again cited Article 103 of the Criminal Law in his demand that Jiang Qing be dealt with severely. This seemed to show that the central authorities had already decided on her execution. This was followed by court deliberations according to the normal procedure. The first 10 days of January 1981 witnessed a spate of speculations, because the group favoring reprieve again gained the upper hand. This gave the impression that the upper levels of the Chinese Communist Party were again interfering in the function of the judiciary and trying to stop Jiang Qing's execution.

#### "Nonexecution" Group's Worry that Jiang Qing Would Become a Martyr

Even though the controversy was still continuing among the upper level CCP leadership, the final decision was that Jiang Qing would receive the death sentence. However, the earlier hesitation and indecision had already shaken people's faith in the CCP's methods of law enforcement. Before the verdict was passed, the CCP leaders should have unequivocally declared that they would never interfere in the judicial proceedings, and let Jiang Qing and the other nine be dealt with by the special court in any way it considered proper. This would have been a fine convincing gesture. However,

instead of this, they let the deliberations on Jiang Qing's fate drag on. First, it was reported that the final verdict would be given on 5 January. Later it was postponed until 10 January and then until 12 January. But nothing was heard on 12 January, and it was rumored that the court session would be further postponed for another week. These repeated postponements indicated the CCP's predicament.

Last year, Peng Zhen was asked: "Which is more important: the law or the party?" He replied: "The law!" This indicates that although the party dominates China in all spheres, it still has to abide by the law and refrain from any interference in the execution of law. Furthermore, the party can demonstrate its own correctness and prestige only when it respects the law. However, despite whatever it may say, it cannot depart from its old practice when confronted with some real problem. If Jiang Qing is really spared execution by the time this article is published, it will be a disappointment to many people, and there will inevitably be serious repercussions.

The reason is quite simple. Jiang Qing framed and persecuted Liu Shaoqi and hounded Deng Tuo [6772 2148], Wu Han [0702 2498], Zhang Zhilin [1728 0037 7207] (Minister of Coal Industry), and Zheng Junli [6774 0689 6849] to death; even Liu Shaoqi's former maid Qin Guizhen [4447 2710 6297] was imprisoned for no offense at all. Any one of these charges should be sufficient to justify the death penalty for her. It can even be said that if she were to die 100 times, the penalty would still be inadequate for her crimes. If the CCP still thinks that Mao Zedong's policy of "arresting few and killing none" is applicable to her case, this is a flagrant disregard of people's feelings and lack of respect for the law. In other words, "the party is above the law" after all.

Under the communist rule, an embezzler (Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] in Heilongjiang) was put to death, and a rapist (one of the "playboys" of the Xiong [3574] family in Hangzhou) was shot. If the life of Jiang Qing, the archcriminal who cruelly injured and killed millions of people, can still be spared, how can the meaning of "everyone is equal before the law" be satisfactorily explained?

The CCP has drawn a line of demarcation between the crimes of Jiang Qing and her cohorts and the mistakes of the Mao Zedong's line, and has taken great pains to avoid any mention of Mao Zedong's criminal complicity. Deng Xiaoping has said that it is impossible to entirely separate Mao Zedong from the "gang of four." Jiang Qing was full of arrogance in court precisely because she was convinced that the CCP did not have the guts to denounce Mao or to fully expose Mao's blunders. To preserve stability and unity in the party, the CCP still finds it necessary laud "Mao Zedong Thought" in certain ways. There are many diehard Maoists among the cadres originating from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers (particularly the army) under the communist rule. The enlightened elements in the party know that it is probably impossible to expose and criticize Mao's blunders in this generation, and therefore prefer to leave this task for the next generation. This is a trump card for Jiang Qing, and this is how she came to make a scene in court, knowing that most probably she would not have to die anyway. She was right. Her attitude so "impressed" the party leaders that they found it hard to decide on a suitable verdict. After the conclusion of the debate in court on Jiang Qing, it should normally take 3 or at most 5 days for the court to wind up its deliberations and then to issue the verdict. However, when this article was being written in Beijing in the middle of January 1981,



I heard that the controversy among people in the party upper levels was still developing. Many people worried that putting Jiang Qing to death would be doing her a favor, because it would make her a "martyr." Therefore, they wanted to spare her life. Thus those opposing Jiang Qing's execution found one more reason to back their argument. They thought that since she could not live long anyway, sparing her life would mean preserving the living evidence, and no one can tell whether some day she might supply some valuable data to be included in history.

Sparing her life would forever preserve the hatred against her in the people's minds, putting her to death might arouse sympathy for her from the Loyal Maoists out of consideration for saving Mao's face.

Those opposing her execution also claimed that public opinion in the West was against the execution on the grounds that she was only a political prisoner. If the "gang of four" had all been killed at the time of their arrest in Beijing, nobody would have said anything because it would have been fait accompli. Now that the "gang of four" are prisoners, the execution of political prisoners is obviously not a civilized act.

#### Resistance to Deng Xiaoping's Line

According to my observation of the CCP, we should consider whether the execution of Jiang Qing would be beneficial to the party and the state as a whole. In view of the serious economic difficulties, Deng Xiaoping's flexible line, although widely acclaimed in the country, has also brought about some unexpected resistance, and a total effort is required to preserve stability and unity in the party. The time is not opportune for putting Jiang Qing to death. It cannot be denied that Deng Xiaoping's line is being resisted in many places, and most strongly by the middle-level cadres originating from the army. The age of these cadres is slightly over 50. They won merit during the war of liberation, and in civilian life most of them, are county party secretaries or directors of departments or bureaus in the central government. These cadres are very numerous. They have power in their hands, and are in the prime of life, but the vast majority of them have not received a modern education. Since most of them are from families engaged in small-scale farming, they are selfish and narrow-minded, but adept at dealing behind the scenes, with a very strong feudal mentality. The central authorities' policy of showing high regard for intellectuals is disagreeable to them; therefore they are only paying lipservice to Deng Xiaoping's line and are implementing it only halfheartedly or refusing to implement it at all. In dealing with this huge number of stubborn and incompetent cadres of peasant origin who have been transferred from the army to civilian life in various localities and departments, the party must have a strong determination in taking drastic measures over a very long time. It is mainly because of obstructions by these middle-level cadres that the Central Committee's policies cannot be properly implemented. These policies have either failed to make any headway, or have become distorted in certain places. That is why Chen Yun pointed out that party rectification has a close bearing on the party's very survival. These middle-level cadres have a blind worship of Mao and the strongest faith in the two "whatsoever's." They have misgivings about the Central Committee's new policies, and the execution of Jiang Qing right now might arouse their discontent, which would be detrimental to stability and unity.

Therefore, for the preservation of stability and unity and in order to deal with the existing economic crisis wholeheartedly, it is more likely that instead of instant execution, Jiang Qing will receive a death sentence with a reprieve. It is also possible that even though she has to be executed, the execution will not take place for some time. Anyway, there will be no killing.

#### Criticism of Mao's Private Life by High-Level Cadres

Despite the many defects revealed in the course of the trial which have caused dissatisfaction among many people, the greatest achievement of the party lies in the verdict on the "cultural revolution" and the indirect effects of the verdict on Mao Zedong. This great achievement had far-reaching effects.

On the morning of 26 December, the birthday of Mao Zedong, I passed by the memorial hall in Tiananmen Square. I only saw the closed iron gates, and there was not a single flower petal to be seen. People passed by in streams and took no notice of the memorial hall. Their antipathy to Mao can be easily imagined. Although on the same day all Beijing newspapers carried Mao's letter to his cousin Wen Yunchang [2429 6663 2499], written in his early years, advising his cousin not to come to Yanan, there were neither editor's notes appended nor any dateline. I asked my friends and relatives about the purpose of publishing this letter, but they all said they did not know, because the units [in which they worked] did not tell them to read, far less to study, this letter. This shows how low has Mao sunk among the masses.

To be fair, I believe that there is now full freedom of speech, even in talking to friends who are party members. Before the "cultural revolution," people avoided such friends. Even on meeting them, the conversation was very carefully confined to common family matters, lest these party member friends be infected with bourgeois ideas. Today, people can freely discuss state affairs and criticize this and that person. Anyone having doubts about the internal system of the state can boldly air his views for discussion, and through the exchange of ideas reach a common understanding after learning about the actual conditions in Western countries. Such a liberal atmosphere is unparalleled in the 31 years of communist rule since liberation. Many people's criticism of Mao is now short and to the point, referring to the feudal emperor ideas in his head. Instead of studying Marxism-Leninism, he was said to be immersed in Chinese classics, hoping to learn from the experience of the feudal dynasties in plotting against one another, in order to oust and attack the old cadres who he could not trust. It was Mao's use of feudalist tactics in the attempt to transform China under a leftist label that brought about all the evils. The intellectuals in China know Mao thoroughly, and some old cadres even openly criticized Mao's mistakes and private life. All this shows the CCP's march toward the goal of a modernized political party. Naturally there will be turns and twists. However, provided the CCP has firm determination and the people can really criticize and supervise its work and the election of party members and cadres, it has a promising future; otherwise, reversals or degeneration will be inevitable.

Since I am now in Beijing and have learned something about the CCP's workstyle, I cannot help but promptly express my views even though they may be incorrect. Generally, much as I would like to see Jiang Qing on the scaffold, a death sentence with a reprieve is a necessary strategy in view of the internal situation in the state and the party, as I have gradually learned in Beijing. Although a disappointment to people, this verdict cannot be seriously censured, because of certain problems which cannot be brought into the open.

(Written in Beijing, 13 January 1981)

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